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Cultural trends in Kashmir and Kṣemendra

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CULTURAL TRENDS IN KASHMIR AND KṢEMENDRA

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Cultural trends in Kashmir and Ksemendra

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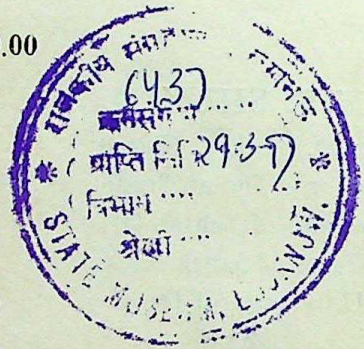

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Preface

Kashmir has consistently enjoyed a rich and distinct cultural heritage which was always viewed with awe in the Indian horizon. Social, cultural, economic and artistic life of the people in this "Paradise upon earth" inspired may writers to choose subjects varied in nature reflecting the cultural legacy of the land. Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī is one of the works which brought into limelight several such nuances of the lives of the people of Kashmir and inspired other writers to write on subjects which had a social and cultural bearing. Kṣemendra was perhaps one such mentor of Kalhaṇa who delved deep into the local history of his land and wrote on subjects which bore the imprint of the society of his times and the impress of cultural trends through which Kashmir was passing at the time. Many religious faiths were in vogue and the people stood on the threshhold of negating the old cultural and moral values. For the faithful, he provided literature of particular religious bearing, to those seeking literature he provided works of abiding aeshetic value and to the common man slipping from the path of virtue, he presented his cutting satire and ridicule so that they corrected themselves and walked on the virtuous path. The present work is being unveiled with the intention of revealing the light of those times despite a few earlier attempts in the field on the life and works of Kṣemendra.

Seeds for this attempt were sown during the time of Prof. Suryakanta of Benares who inspired me to go ahead with my study of Kṣemendra. The work should have appeared during his life time but my preoccupation with other works had the sway. Mouton and Co., the Hague had suggested through the high offices of Professor F. B. J. Kuiper of the Kern Institute, Leiden to print the work in the form of a monograph

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in the Indo-Iranian Journal. By the time the suggestion reached me, I was busy with the translation of the Mahābhārata into Persian, preparation of a work in French on Vaishnavism and the like. I am now presenting Kṣemendra as the representative of an abiding cultural legacy in the foreground of his life and works studied by scholars in their own ways. I have tried to present Kṣemendra as a personality characterised by an integrated philosophy of life providing works of literary value, as well as religious of Śaivism, Vaishnavism and Buddhism. His success and the recognition which it brought provided him with the courage to attempt social amelioration with the help of polished satire. In all his endeavours Kṣemendra emerged successful. Thus, to enliven interest in Kṣemendra's works and to reveal an integrated personality and to highlight Kashmir during his epoch, I have made an effort to elicit the attention of the readers and researchers with this endeavour.

I have my sincere thanks to late Professor Sūryakanta and Professor F.B.J. Kuiper for their patient study of my work and concrete suggestions. To my daughter Rashmi, I have to thank and bless her for going through the material during the printing of the work. The publisher Shri V.K. Sharma of the Nirman Prakashan deserves my thanks for undertaking this publication. He could have done a better job by eliminating a few mistakes. I crave the indulgence of my readers for them.

N. S. Shukla

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The Scheme of Translation and Transliteration

English renderings of Sanskrit pieces are given in many places. The translations are my own. Sanskrit terms are invariably given in Sanskrit within single inverted commas or with a capital letter in the beginning. Sometimes the English equivalents are also used.

The scheme of transliteration in general is as follows :—

अ—a ; आ—ā ; इ—i ; ई—ī ; उ—u ; ऊ—ū ; ऋ—ṛ; ए—e; ऐ—ai; ओ—o ; औ—au ; अनुस्वार—ṁ ; क्—k ; ख्—kh ; ग्—g ; घ्—gh ; ङ्—ṅ ; च्—c; छ्—ch; ज्—j; झ्—jh; ञ्—ñ; ट्—ṭ ; ठ्—ṭh; ड्—ḍ ; ढ्—ḍh; ण्—ṇ; त्—t ; थ्—th ; द्—d ; ध्—dh ; न्—n ; प्—p ; फ्—ph ; ब्—b; भ्—bh; म्—m; य्—y; र्—r; ल्—l; व्—v; श्—ś; ष्—ṣ; स्—s; ह्—h; :-ḥ.

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Abbreviations

AVC	Aucityavicāracarcā.
AKL	Avadānakalpalatā.
BhM	Bhāratamañjarī.
BKM	Bṛhatkathāmañjarī.
CC	Cārucaryā.
CS	Caturvargasaṅgraha.
DD	Darpadalana.
DAC	Daśāvatāracarita.
DU	Deśopadeśa.
K.V	Kalāvilāsa.
KK	Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa.
NM	Narmamālā.
RM	Rāmāyaṇamañjarī.
SM	Samayamātṛkā.
ST	Suvṛttatilaka.
SU	Sevyasevakopadeśa.

SPECIAL NOTE

In this work all the references concerning Kṣemendra's works have been taken from the publications of the Kāvya Mālā Series, Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, except for Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā which have been referred from Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. 4, and Avadānakalpalatā from Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, No. 22-23, published by Mithila Institute, Darbhanga.

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Introduction

In the vast field of Sanskrit literature the contribution of Kāśmīra, the ancient seat of learning, has been unique. The country has given us eminent writers in all the forms of literature. Beginning with Mātṛgupta but more continuously from the reign of Jayāpiḍa and his two courtiers Udbhaṭa and Vāmana, there was a galaxy of eminent Kasmirian writers namely Rudraṭa, Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, Ānandavardhana, Candrikākāra, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Bhaṭṭa Tota, Bhaṭṭendurāja, Abhinavagupta, Kuntaka, Mahima Bhaṭṭa, Kṣemarāja, Mammaṭa, Rājaśekhara, Allaṭa, Tilaka, Ruyyaka, Kalhaṇa, Śobhākara, Jayaratha, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Utpaladeva, Śrīkaṇṭha and many others. To this galaxy belongs Kṣemendra who, though not the most prominent, is one of the most luminous ones. He lived and worked during the eleventh century of the Christian era. His genius found expression in poems, plays, narratives, didactic and satiric sketches, treatises on rhetoric, erotics and prosody and also the poetical epitomes of the two epics—the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhatkathā, Bāṇa's Kādambarī, the Buddhist Avadānas, a chronicle of kings of Kāśmīra and a lexicon.

"In fact Kṣemendra stands out in all India as a matchless literary figure of wide humanistic interest and practical wisdom, a highly developed mind as it were, and an originator of new types of literary writings."

Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī—an epitome of the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya, and Aucityavicāracarcā his dynamic work on the theory of propriety, have always drawn the attention of the scholars of the East and West. It was Dr. Bühler who discovered in his tour of Kāśmīra some of the valuable works of Kṣemendra. Since then many other works of the poet have been found out and published, though quite a few still remain lost to posterity. Dr. Bühler, in his 'Detailed

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Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts' which was published in the extra number of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1887, gave for the first time a review of the works of Kṣemendra. Dr. Bühler also wrote an article entitled "On the Vrihatkathā of Kṣemendra".[1] S. Lévi, Mańkowski, Speyer, F. Lacôte, M.B. Emeneau, C.D. Chatterjee, V. Raghavan—all wrote about the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī of Kṣemendra comparing it with Kathāsaritasāgara of Somadeva and speculated about the form of Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya. Schönberg and Weber have also made valuable contributions towards the understanding of Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa and Lokaprakāśa which have Kṣemendra as their eminent author. The writers on the history of Sanskrit poetics found the study of the Aucityavicāracarcā very rewarding. But, it was not until 1954, the year in which Dr. Sūryakānta's "Kṣemendra Studies" was published (Poona Oriental Series, Vol. 91), that the works of Kṣemendra were studied in their entirety. Dr. Sūryakānta's studies, with his remarkable insight, offer a comprehensive line of study of Kṣemendra in general and his three English translations on the literature and criticisms, of the memorable writer *viz.*, Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, Aucityavicāracarcā and Suvṛttatilaka are extremely valuable contributions to excite the interest of the reader, denoting a rewarding study of Kṣemendra. In the preface to his work, Dr. Sūryakānta wrote "What I am offering to the benevolent reader is, thus, the place of a literary critic, illustrated with an English translation of three of his works ; and I hope that even this, necessarily brief, attempt will attract the attention of scholars to the intensive study of one who represents the Kasmirian spirit in its best form, and is the one versatile author in whom poetry and wisdom were intimately fused ; for Kṣemendra's poetry and prose, in their infinite variety, blended with the meditation and a virile practical intelligence by which he sought to penetrate into the springs of life".[2]

Dr. Sūryakānta's suggestion has been the primary impetus for this study of Kṣemendra. I have attempted an intensive and exhaustive study of Kṣemendra from all angles.

1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. 1, pp. 302-309
2. "Kṣemendra Studies"—Author's preface, pp. ix-x.

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Kṣemendra's works, dynamic in themselves, demand from the critics a dynamic approach in order to screen the poet's multifarious learning and admirable literary skill. His works are the repositories of information regarding the poet's life time, his philosophy of life, the social conditions of the country during his time and all these blended together with the influence of his great teacher Abhinavagupta and the Kāśmīra Śaivism in which he was initiated by him. His works reveal to us a moral teacher, a social thinker, a poet and a critic of indomitable zeal and skill.

But, being a synthetic personality, he deserves alert attention from critics and scholars.

This particular work is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter deals with the biography of Kṣemendra. The question about the identity of Kṣemendra and Kṣemarāja—another pupil of Abhinavagupta, has also been discussed. The ancestry of the poet, his parentage, the probable time of his birth, his childhood and education, his teachers, his family atmosphere, the centres of his activity—all have been gleaned to the extent.

In the second chapter, an attempt has been made to critically evaluate his numerous available works. Here, an attempt has also been made to fix up the dates of his works especially on the basis of internal evidence. The works of Kṣemendra have been divided into four divisions : (1) Poetical Epitomes, (2) Didactic and Satirical works, (3) Poetics and Metrics and (4) Miscellaneous themes. This chapter is a little longer and presents the critical review of all the authentic and available works of the poet. The chronological order of the works, especially the earlier ones, has been given an exhaustive treatment.

The philosophy of life according to Kṣemendra has been discussed in the third chapter. Here again the works of the poet have been further classified into two groups : (1) Works of philosophy which show certain deflections towards a particular school of philosophy and (2) Other poems which are not apparantly works of philosophy but are not completely devoid of this doctrine of life in the widest sense of the term. The totality of his experience and reaction to life in all its variety and complexity and the essentials of ideal living which Kṣemendra

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cherished—have all been discussed.

The social conditions of the country of the time of Kṣemendra constitute the subject matter of the fourth chapter. The then administrative system, the evils of society, markets, trade relations, the occult sciences, marriage, religion, economic condition and educational system—all have been discussed at length.

A marked influence of Kāśmīra Śaivism and of Abhinavagupta—the great Śaiva philosopher, is seen in the works of Kṣemendra. This is studied in the fifth chapter. A brief note on Kāśmira Śaivism and its unifying spirit is mentioned as it is found in the poet's works.

The sixth chapter presents the poet as a moral teacher and a social thinker. He has also been evaluated as a poet and a critic.

Kṣemendra cannot be taken as a mere verse maker or codifier of moral precepts. His is a simulated personality which imbibes the various aspects of his own life and the lives of the people around him. The tremendous task of the amelioration of the evils of society, of the religious concepts and the training of the learned lay before him. These circumstances conditioned his works. In the making of such a personality, his poetry is the unifying factor. All these points have been discussed in the seventh chapter.

The investigation of Kṣemendra's works from a critical view point was, in my opinion, very much needed to enable us to know some of the sociological and literary trends which were prevalent during the poet's own life time. Such an enquiry has, I think, a strong raison d'ètre. The sociological study of the poet's works will provide a concise storehouse to satisfy the interest of a student of sociology. The philosophical basis of his works studied here will excite the interest of a cogitative mind. And both these along with the study of Kṣemendra as a poet and a critic will prove inviting to an earnest student of literature.

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I

Biography

KṢEMENDRA AND HIS TIMES

"Kāśmīra, exclaimed the Mughal Emperor Jahañgīra, is the paradise of which priests have prophesied and poets have sung". This fairy land of Kāśmīra has a rich cultural and literary heritage and has for centuries contributed to the development of Indian thought and literature. Most of the classical and philosophical Sanskrit literature, which flourished during the early Buddhist and Hindu periods, belongs to Kāśmīra. Bilhaṇa, the famous writer of the historical Mahākāvya Vikramāṅkadeva Carita could justly boast of the greatness of this land of his birth, where even women could as felicitously express themselves in Sanskrit and Prākṛit, as much as in their mother-tongue. The last few decades of the 10th century A.D. show a land-mark in the cultural history of Kāśmīra. During this period lived the great Kāśmīra Śaiva philosopher and literary critic Abhinavagupta, the famous writer of Abhinavabhāratī—a commentary on Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra. This great scholar of Śaiva philosophy who himself was a writer of unquestionable merit, inspired with his genius and wisdom, a love of learning amongst many students who pursued their studies with such industry and enthusiasm that in many respects they may be said to have outshone their master. Such a one was Kṣemendra —the polyhistor. It was the middle of the 11th century when the polymath Kṣemendra learned rhetorics at the feet of Abhinavaguptapādācārya.

It has been a common phenomenon amongst Sanskrit writers to remain almost silent on their genealogy and parentage. Very few Sanskrit writers ever thought it important to

1. Yatra strīṇāṁ kim aparaṃ janma bhāṣāvad eva
praty āvāsaṁ vilasati vacaḥ Saṁskṛtaṁ Prākṛtaṁ ca.
(Vikramāṅkadevacarita, Canto XVIII, Verse 6)

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describe something about their life and home. With Kṣemendra, however, we are lucky. He too could have tried to hide his light under a bushel, but it seems he well understood the importance of coming close to his readers and that is why he dated some of his writings and also spoke something about his father and the king Ananta who was ruling over Kāśmīra in his time. Some of the informative verses, which he added to some of his works, speak about his genealogy, his preceptors and the purpose of his writing poetry. Some of the colophons of his writings were the dates of the compositions which help us to draw certain conclusions about the period during which Kṣemendra wrote. Even if we confine ourselves to well authenticated facts about the poet, it is possible for us to know exactly the forces and influences which produced such a creative mind. For the purpose of understanding his writings, the information available is enough.

(a) *The controversy regarding the identity of Kṣemendra*

It is necessary at the very outset to consider whether Kṣemendra was not another name of a poet known as Kṣemarāja—the author of 'Spanda Sandoha' and 'Spanda Nirṇaya'. That these are two different names of the same person is an opinion held by Dr. Bühler as he points out in his Kashmira Catalogue[1] while speaking of the two commentaries named 'Spanda Sandoha' and 'Spanda Nirṇaya'. On page 79, he remarks :

"Kṣemendra, the author of Spanda Nirṇaya No. 511, and of Spanda Sandoha 517, appears to be identical with Ksemarāja, the pupil of Abhinava."

In my opinion Kṣemendra, studied in the following pages, is a different person from Kṣemarāja who was in fact another pupil of Abhinavagupta. Being a writer of great eminence and multifarious learning, Abhinavagupta had a number of pupils under him. Amongst those was one Kṣemarāja whose confused identity with Kṣemendra is marked by the mention of Kṣemendra's name in the colophons of the 'Spanda Sandoha' and the 'Spanda Nirṇaya' though written by Kṣemarāja. Amongst the commentators of Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja

1. Kashmir Report, Bühler, p. XXXIII, MSS. 511 and 517.

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stands first in the chronological order. In the colophons of all his works he identifies himself to be a pupil of Abhinavagupta-pādācārya. Like his great teacher he has also written on all the three subjects, *i.e.*, Tantra, Poetics and Śaiva philosophy. Abhinava's last available and dated work was completed in 1014-15 A.D. We can, therefore, easily assign Kṣemarāja's literary activities to the close of the first and practically the whole of the second quarter of the 11th century A.D. The Spanda Kārikā, written by Abhinavagupta, provided a good scope for Kṣemarāja to write two valuable commentaries named 'Spanda Sandoha' and 'Spanda Nirṇya'. The first is a commentary on only the first verse of the 'Spanda Kārikā' and the second is a commentary on the whole of the same.

It may be pointed out that the non-availability of the manuscripts of the works in question direct from the pen of Kṣemarāja himself, and the mention of the name of Kṣemendra through some scribal mistake in the manuscripts available to Dr. Bühler, have led him to identify Kṣemendra with Kṣemarāja. Some internal evidence[1] found in the 'Pratyabhijñā Hṛdaya' and in the 'Śiva Sūtra Vimarśiṇī' which are of doubtless authenticity and are acceptedly the works of Kṣemarāja, show the two works in question to be those of Kṣemarāja himself. The following quotations therefrom justify the above statement :

"Tathā mayā vitatya Spanda Sandohe nirṇītam".
(Pratyabhijñā Hṛdaya, p. 24).

"Yathā caitat tathā asmadīyāt Spanda Nirṇayād-
avaboddhavyam".
(Śiva Sūtra Vimarśiṇī, p. 14).

"Etat Spanda Nirṇaye nirākāṅkṣaṁ mayaiva nirṇītam".
(Śiva Sūtra Vimarśiṇī, p. 129).

It may be mentioned that the 'Spanda Sandoha' and the 'Spanda Nirṇaya' have been published and their colophons bear the name of Kṣemarāja and not of Kṣemendra.

1. This internal evidence has been given by Dr. Kanti Chandra Pandey in 'Abhinavagupta an historical and philosophical study' on pages 153-156.

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To establish the fact that the personality of Kṣemarāja is separate from that of Kṣemendra, who was his younger contemporary, a close study of the works of the preceptor Abhinavagupta and those of Kṣemarāja, is necessary. 'Tantrāloka', which is a production of the early period of Abhinavagupta's literary activity, was written in about 990 A.D. It mentions that Kṣema, who was no other than Kṣemarāja, along with others requested Abhinavagupta to write the Tantrāloka :

"Anye pitṛvya tanayāḥ śivaśakti śubhrāḥ
KṣemotpalābhinavaCakrakaPadmaguptāḥ".
... ...
"Anyopi kaścana janaḥ Śivaśaktipāta-
saṁpreraṇā paravaśaḥ svakaśakti sārthaḥ.
Abhyarthanā vimukhabhāvam aśikṣitena
ten āpyanugraha padaṁ kṛta eṣa vargaḥ".
... ...
"Ācāryam abhyarthayate sma gāḍham
saṁpūrṇa tantrādhigamāya samyak".
(Tantrāloka, Adhyāya 37)

As is evident from the above citations, Kṣema (which is a nick-name of Kṣemarāja) was one of the cousins (pitṛvyatanaya) of Abhinavagupta and at that time he must have been sufficiently well versed to understand the intricacies of the monistic Tantras. Moreover, Kṣemarāja himself uses this nick-name in his Pratyabhijña Hṛdaya[1]. As Kṣemarāja's period of literary activity falls between 1015 and 1040 A.D., we have to allow a period of half a century for the literary activity of one person if we identify the two, which will be misleading on account of the last dated work of Kṣemendra of the year 1066 A.D.—the Daśāvatāra Carita.[2]

In most of the works of Kṣemendra, we find the pen name 'Vyāsadāsa' written concurrently with the former, and in case of Kṣemarāja no such name has found a place. One more point

1. "Kṣemeṇoddhriyate sāraḥ saṁsāra viṣa śāntaye".
(Pratyabhijñā Hṛdaya, 1),
2. DAC, p. 164, Verse 5.

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in support of this opinion is that two of them belonged to two different places. Bijbihāra (Vijayeśvara) was the place where Kṣemarāja lived while working on his commentary on the 'Stava Cintāmaṇi' :

"Tenārthi praṇayād dinais tricaturair yaṁ Kṣemarājo vyadhāt kṣetre Śrī Vijayeśvarasya vimale saiṣā Śivārādhani".

In the concluding portion of DAC, Kṣemendra speaks of 'Tripureśaśaila' as his place of residence :

"Prakhyātātiśayasya tasya tanyaḥ Kṣemendra nāmābhavat".
"tena Śrī Tripureśa śailaśikhare viśrānti saṁtoṣiṇā".[1]

Dr. S K. De while opining on the question under discussion says :

"The question, therefore, cannot be taken as definitely settled, and can be satisfactorily solved when, as Bühler long ago pointed out, the name of Kṣemarāja's father is found".[2] The present author's view is further corroborated if the genealogical details of these two different personalities are investigated into. We already know that Kṣema or Kṣemarāja was one of the cousins (pitṛvyatanaya) of Abhinavagupta. In his Abhinava Bhāratī, page 297, Abhinava has mentioned about his one uncle. Was Kṣemarāja the son of this uncle ? This possibility can easily be waved out on the ground of Abhinavagupta's having more than one uncle. But, there can be no two opinions about the name of Kṣemarāja's grand-father Varāhagupta, who was also the grand-father of Abhinavagupta,[3] Kṣemarāja being the cousin of Abhinavagupta. In DAC, Kṣemendra names Sindhu[4] as his grand-father. On the basis of this fact it can be safely asserted that Kṣemendra was altogether a different person from Kṣemarāja.

It may be further added that Kṣemarāja had established very intimate relations with his teacher Abhinavagupta as he

1. DAC, p. 164, Verses 2 and 3.
2. S.K. De, History of Sanskrit Poetics, p. 141.
3. K.C. Pandey, Abhinavagupta—An Historical and Philosophical Study, p. 4.
4. DAC, p. 164, Verse 2.

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uses the expression 'Pādapadmopajīvin' (a term expressive of intimacy) in every one of his works. Abhinavagupta's attachment towards Kṣemarāja was no less, as is judged from his mention of Kṣemarāja as Kṣema, already mentioned before. Could there be any other expression so affectionate as this ? A thorough and intensive study of the works of these two poets in question confirms this statement more emphatically. The nature of the works of these two genius personalities is markedly different. One has always, with a single exception, remained engrossed in the philosophical treatises, while the other has proved his prolificacy by writing not only poems, plays. narratives, didactic and satirical sketches, treatises on rhetorics, erotics and prosody, but also making poetical epitomes of the two epics, Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhatkathā, Bāṇa's Kādambarī, Buddhist Avadānas, a chronicle of kings of Kāśmīra and a lexicon. The concentration demanded by philosophical writings would have hardly allowed any distraction to Kṣemarāja. Moreover, the growing snares of courtesans, hypocrisy and corruption prevailing in Kāśmīra in Kṣemendra's days, against which Kṣemendra had decided to rebel, could have scarcely given opportunity to this social revolutionist to lean towards the writing of the merely abstract philosophical works. Both the poets have proved their worth in their own fields and none has tried to encroach upon the other's, leaving for us plenty of proof to reject the argument about their identity.

(b) *The Parentage of Kṣemendra*

The 11th century of the Christian era will always be remembered in Kāśmīra's literary history for producing the industrious polymath Kṣemendra. This great literate was born at a time when Kāśmīra was passing through great vicissitudes in political and social life and dynastic revolutions. The marriage of Kṣemagupta, who ruled over Kāśmīra between 950—958 A.D., with Didda, the daughter of Siṁharāja, Chief of Lohara, brought Kāśmīra under the rule of the Lohara family which continued to hold Kāśmīra down to the times of Kalhaṇa, the author of Rājataraṅgiṇī, and later. Kṣemendra seems to be conscious of these revolutions and must have described these in his Nṛpāvali or Rājāvali—a chronicle of kings.

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This work is ascribed to Kṣemendra in Rājataraṅgiṇī, the earliest available source to have recorded about Kṣemendra. In 1028 A.D., King Ananta was raised to the throne after Harirāja's death, who was his father. Ananta acquired the throne when the design of his mother to secure the Crown for herself was frustrated. The River of Kings—Rājataraṅgiṇī provides a good deal of the old topography of Kāśmīra and functions as a search-light on many a point about King Ananta's reign, during which Kṣemendra's literary activity flourished.

The genealogical details thrown open to us by Kṣemendra in his works, though scanty, enable us to form a firm opinion regarding his date of birth, childhood, education, his teachers, the environment in which he distinguished himself as a writer and the main centres of his activity. The internal evidence found in his works and the external evidence left for posterity through the records made by Kṣemendra's son Somendra in his introduction to Avadānakalpalatā, and Kalhaṇa in his chronicle —the Rājataraṅgiṇī, place us in a far more advantageous position to decide about the various details regarding the author with a degree of accuracy rarely attainable in the case of many other Sanskrit writers.

In one of the concluding verses of DAC[1], Kṣemendra has given a brief genealogical account of his own, which says that his father was Prakāśendra and his grand-father was called Sindu. It may be pointed out that here the name 'Sindu' seems to be inadvertently written by the poet. In RM 'Sindhu' which may be taken as the correct form of the name appears in reference to his father. This misconstruction of the word may be the result of the saving of effort which might have been the reason for this phonetic change or it might be due to some scribal mistake. This account about his ancestry is further supplemented by his son Somendra in his introduction to AKL. Somendra's introduction is intensive. It says that in the lineage of Narendra, a minister to King Jayāpīḍa, was born Bhogindra whose son was named Sindhu. Sindhu begat

1. Kaśmīreṣu babhūva Sinduradhikaḥ sindhośca nimnāśayaḥ
prāptastasya guṇaprakarṣayaśasā putraḥ Prakāśendratām.
Viprendrapratipāditānnadhanabhūgoraṅghakṛṣṇājinaiḥ
prakhyātātiśayasya tasya tanayaḥ Kṣemendranāmābhavat.
(DAC, p. 164, Verse 2).

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Prakāśendra who was the father of Kṣemendra whose son was Somendra.[1] On this basis a family-tree[2] can be prepared as follows :

Narendra (Minister to King Jayāpīḍa)
|
Bhogīndra
|
Sindhu (styled as Sindu in DAC)
|
Prakāśendra
|
Kṣemendra
|
Somendra

As regards the identification of the above-mentioned names, Dr. Sūryakānta has ventured to compare them with the information supplied by Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī which mentions two kings of the name of Jayāpiḍa. His conclusion is that nothing substantial comes out but for the observation that Narendra held some unimportant office and was perhaps one of the many ministers of Jayāpiḍa (8th century A D.). Nothing

1. Narendranāmnaḥ sumateḥ Śrījayāpīḍamantriṇaḥ
Vaṃśe babhūva Bhogīndro bhogīndra iva bhogavān.
Tasya sattvanidheḥ Śrīmān guṇaratnagaṇāśrayaḥ
Sunurvāṇisuchāsutiḥ Sindhuḥ sindhur ivābhavat.
Tasya putraḥ Prakāśendraḥ prakāśendranibho bhuvi
Babhūva dānapuṇyena Bodhisattvaguṇocitaḥ.
Kṣemendras tanayas tasya kavīndraḥ kīrticandrikā
Candras yevocitā yasya mānasollāsinī satām.
(Introduction to AKL, Somendra, p. 1, V. 1-4).

2. Dr. Suryakānta in 'Kṣemendra Studies' has also built up the family-tree wherein he mentions Cakrapāla as the brother of Kṣemendra on the basis of KK. My observation is that Cakrapāla was the brother of Muktākaṇa and not of Kṣemendra as is found in the second sandhi of KK, page 125. After the verse of Muktākaṇa as an example of a poet thriving on borrowed words, the text reads as follows :
"Yathā caitadbhrātuścakrapālasya". Here the word 'Etadbhrātuḥ' means the brother of Muktākaṇa mentioned just before. If Kṣemendra were to mean his own brother he would have written 'Mama bhrātuḥ' as is done by him at other places while quoting himself—'Yathā mama'.

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is known about Kṣemendra's mother. It is possible that his mother expired when he was an infant and therefore is not mentioned even once.

The family life, childhood and education of Kṣemendra, the teachers under whom he studied and the main centres of his activity will be discussed later on. At this place my investigation deals with the question of his date of birth.

(c) *Probable time of his birth*:

The works from the pen of Kṣemendra provide us with first hand information about the date of their composition and the name of the king who was then ruling. On the basis of this, his date of birth can be firmly ascertained. Every work of his is a testimony in itself mentioning the name of the ruling king. Almost all his writings were completed during the reign of King Ananta. The only exception is DAC the ink of which dried up during the statesmanship of Kalaśa, Ananta's son. At the end of BKM[1], Kṣemendra writes that it was completed in the 12th year of the Laukika era. Samayamātṛkā[2] was brought to a close in the 25th year and DAC[3] was finished in the 41st year of the same era. The centuries though omitted by Kṣemendra can be made good with the help of Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṇgiṇī according to which the Laukika era commenced in 3074-75 B.C. With this, we can convert the time according to the Christian era by adding the figure 25 to the Laukika era. As Kṣemendra has mentioned the ruling King Ananta[4] whose time, according to Rājataraṅgiṇī, is the 42nd century of the Laukika era, *i.e.*, 1028-63 A.D., we can add the missing centuries to the dates referred by Kṣemendra. In the year 1063 A.D. King Ananta abdicated in favour of his son Kalaśa who

1. Kadācid eva vipreṇa sa dvādaśyām upoṣitaḥ
   Prārthito Rāmayaśasā sarasaḥ svacchacetasā.
   (BKM, p. 620, Lambaka XIX, Verse 39).
2. Saṁvatsare pañcaviṁśe Pauṣaśuklādivāsare
   Śrimatāṁ bhūtirakṣāyai racitoyaṁ smitotsavaḥ.
   (SM, p. 57, Verse 2)
3. Ekādhikebde vihitaś catvāriṁśe sakārtike
   Rājye Kalaśa bhūbhartuḥ Kaśmīreṣv acutastavaḥ.
   (DAC, p. 164, Verse 5).
4. Colophons to the various works of Kṣemendra.

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was the sovereign when DAC was completed. Ananta was alive till 1110 A.D. His son's rule could prevail upto 1089 A.D. Thus, from the above-mentioned observations when we count the dates of Kṣemendra's works in terms of the Christian era, the following can be safely asserted :

That BKM, the earliest available work of Kṣemendra, was composed in 1037 A.D. and SM in 1050 A.D. during the suzerainty of King Ananta. DAC, the last available work of the poet was written in the year 1066 A.D., when Kalaśa, successor to Ananta, was the ruler. In this way we can conclude that Kṣemendra's literary assiduity was displayed between 1037 to 1066 A.D.

This view is corroborated by the AKL of Kṣemendra or to be more accurate, by the introduction to the same added by his son Somendra which stands as an external evidence. Somendra puts forth that the work was completed in the 27th year[1] of the Laukika era at the incipience of Vaiśākha. This means that the work was completed in 1052 A.D. when Ananta was the ruler. Mention may also be made about the manuscript 'Aucityālankāroddharā' (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, No. 578/1887-91) quoted by V.P. Mahajan.[2] According to this work, Aucityavicāracarcā was completed in the 34th year of the Laukika era on the 8th day of the first half of Jyeṣṭha for the enlightenment of the students. This year corresponds to 1059 A.D. With this reference arises further evidence supporting my observation about the period (between 1037 and 1066 A.D.) of Kṣemendra's literary activity.

After having examined with some exactitude the upper limit of his industry in the field of literature, it may now be proper to look to the date of Kṣemendra's birth and the inception of his career.

1. Saṁvatsare saptaviṁśe Vaiśākhasya sitodaye
   Kṛteyaṁ Kalpalatikā Jinajanmamahotsave.
   (Introduction to AKL, Somendra, Verse 16)
2. "Nītikalpataru ascribed to Vyāsadāsa Kṣemendra", edited by V.P. Mahajan. In his introduction to this book he quotes the following from the manuscript of the work 'Aucityālaṁkāroddharā' :
   "Iti Śrī Prakāśendrapaṇḍitasuta-ŚrīKṣemendraviracitaucityālaṅkāroddhāraḥ. Niṣpannaścāyaṁ ŚrīmadAnantarājanarādhiparājasamaye.
   Saṁvatsare catustriṁśe Jyeṣṭhe Śukleṣṭamehani
   Kāvyaucityavicāroyaṁ śiṣyavyutpattaye kṛtaḥ.

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Nowhere does Kṣemendra mention the date of his birth. Other sources are equally silent on this point. However, some speculation may profitably be made on the subject. Abhinavagupta, already mentioned as Kṣemendra's teacher is the author of Vidyāvivṛti[1]. The Vidyāvivṛti or Pratyabhijñā Vivṛti Vimarśiṅī is a commentary of Abhinavagupta on Utpaladeva's (930 A.D.) commentary called 'Vivṛti' on his own Pratyabhijñā Sūtras.[2] This commentary was written in 1014 A.D. According to this reference it is clear that Kṣemendra was acquiring the knowledge of rhetorics round about 1014 A.D. He might have been busy during this period concentrating on rhetorics and studying the literature in entity. In this connection, the opinion of Madhusudan Kaul[3], the editor of DU and NM, may also be cited. He opines that Kṣemendra might have been of 25 years when he was studying rhetorics under Abhinavagupta. On this assumption the lowest limit of the date of Kṣemendra's birth may also be established somewhere near 990 A.D. According to Dr. Sūryakānta, the date of Kṣemendra's birth is somewhere between 990 A.D. and 1010 A.D.

A few citations in Kṣemendra's works are also very helpful in speculating about the date of the poet's birth. In AVC, Kṣemendra quotes five verses from Parimala[4], the last poet in the chronological order mentioned by him. Another verse of the same poet has been quoted in ST.[5] Parimala, whose other name is Padmagupta, wrote Navasāhasāṅkacarita about 1005 A.D. Padmagupta himself describes that Vākpatirāja, King of Mālava, and his

1. BKM, p. 620, Verse 37.
2. Abhinavagupta himself states in one of the introductory verses to this work :
   "Śrimallakṣmaṇaguptadarśitapathaḥ Śrīpratyabhijñāvidhau
   Ṭikārthapravimarśiṇīṁ racayate vṛttim praśiṣyo guroḥ."
3. "To consider Kṣemendra fit enough for studying and not reading merely the science of rhetoric with Abhinavagupta and to have general acquaintance with literature of the day, it is reasonable to conjure that Kṣemendra might have been by that time about 25 years old."
   (Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā edited by Madhusudan Kaul in his introduction, page 20).
4. AVC, pp. 117, 126, 136, and 140.
5. ST, p. 40.

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successor Sindhurāja alias Navasāhasāṅka were his patrons under whom he flourished as a worthy poet. These two kings, as gleaned from inscriptions, ruled over Mālava from 974 A.D. to 1010 A.D. The same period must obviously be taken for that of the literary achievement of Padmagupta alias Parimala. He can be taken to be a senior contemporary of Kṣemendra whose date is confined between 990 A.D. to 1010 A.D. as is witnessed from his own works. In this regard the verses of Utpalarāja quoted by Kṣemendra in his KK,[1] AVC[2] and ST[3] may also be taken into consideration. Muñja alias Vākpatirāja, the patron of Parimala, had a variety of epithets, i.e., Muñja, Vākpati, Utpalarāja, Amoghavarṣa, Pṛthivīvallabha and Srīvallabha. Parimala describes him as a good poet. He ascended the throne after his father in the year 974 A.D. He ruled over Mālava until about 995 A.D. when he was defeated, taken captive and executed by the neighbouring Cālukya King Tailapa II. Merutuṅga has portrayed him in 'Prabandhacintāmaṇi'. This also stands as a support for considering the date of the existence of Kṣemendra. The only misleading account is the quotaion cited by Dhanika in his Daśarūpāvaloka[4] from Kṣemendra's BKM. Dhanika was also a poet in the court of Muñja or Vākpatirāja. The citation given by Dhanika creates an impression that Kṣemendra must have completed BKM before the composition of Daśarūpāvaloka, but this should be deemed as unauthenticated and as an interpolation in the light of Kṣemendra's own statements.

Thus, concluding this discussion I may say that the life span of Kṣemendra was spread over the first three quarters of the 11th century, that he was born in the last decade of the 10th century or the first decade of the 11th and that the period of his literary activity was from the fourth decade to the seventh decade of the 11th century. Records are silent as regards on the

1. KK, p. 125.
2. AVC, p. 131.
3. ST, p. 37.
4. Cāṇakyanāmnā tenātha śakaṭālagṛhe rahaḥ
   Kṛtyām vidhāya sahasā saputro nihato nṛpaḥ.
   Yogānandayaśaḥśeṣe pūrvanadasutastataḥ
   Candraguptaḥ kṛto rājā Cāṇakyena mahaujasā.
   (Daśarūpaka with commentary 'Avaloka', Dhanika).

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date of Kṣemendra's demise leaving us in an ocean of doubt. The last work DAC from the pen of Kṣemendra was written in 1066 A.D. No other work of the poet after this date is known to posterity and, therefore, taking DAC as his last work, it may safely be assumed that Kṣemendra died shortly after 1066 A.D. Thus, it would not be unreasonaple to establish the date of his death round about 1070 A.D.

(d) *His childhood, education and family atmosphere* :

Scanty are the details about Kṣemendra's childhood and education. Kṣemendra and his son Somendra are both reticent about the earlier part of Kṣemendra's life. As regards this we have to depend upon a few stray anecdotes which naturally cannot allow us to make any definite conclusions. We can, however, postulate on the subject. It is already known that Kṣemendra was a descendant of the family of Narendra who was a minister to King Jayāpīḍa. The monetary position of the family must have been very satisfactory. It appears that this opulence was ever inflating. Kṣemendra very often mentions his father Prakāśendra's inexhaustible riches and philanthropy. Not only was he an altruist but also a great benefactor of the Brāhmaṇas. They were incessantly feasted in his house. Kṣemendra in BKM informs us how on the auspicious hour of 'Dāna' during Solar eclipse his father gave away three lakhs to the Brāhmaṇas along with three antelope skins and then kneeled down in utter humility feeling very much depressed that he had not more to give. Again we are told how his father erected a temple to the greater glory of Lord Śiva and gave away a quarter of a crore. The scene of his death as described by his son Kṣemendra, shows how intensely and truly devoted he was to Śambhū. With tears flooding down his cheeks he worshiped the Lord and then embracing the idol he dropped down dead[1]. A similar description is found in AVC

1. Sūryagrahe tribhirlakṣair dattvā kṛṣṇājinatrayam
Alpapradosmī tyabhavat sa lajjānatakandharaḥ.

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wherein he mentions that in Kāśmīra there lived Prakāśendra who was the very light of the country. He was known to have possessed the glory of the Lord of gods. In his house a purifying sacrifice was always performed at which the Brāhmaṇas were offered the paramount place. In the fascinating temple of Svayambhū were limned the portraits of eight mothers[1] by his desire. And in this very temple, in course of time, he, the donor of cows, land, black deer skins and lodgings breathed his last[2]. One more epithet given to his father by Kṣemendra is 'Sindhujanmā' which not only means that he was born of Sindhu, his father, but also conveys that he was the moon born of the ocean. And did he not fully deserve this epithet, every syllable ? He was never a niggard, grudging money, preventing it from generous circulation, but a wish-yielding tree for the needful. He has been described as a 'Kalpapādapa' for fulfilling the various needs of the mendicants[3]. There used to take place a constant 'Bhojyasatra' at his place for the Brāhmaṇas and his wealth was like the mountain Meru, ever and unstintedly well disposed to the people[4]. BHM also presents him in the same fashion before us. The contented Brāhmaṇas compared him with Indra and went on to say that

Svayambhūnilaye Śrīmān yaḥ pratiṣṭhāpya devatāḥ.
Dattvā koṭicaturbhāgaṁ devadvijamaṭhādiṣu.
Pūjayitvā svayaṁ Śambhuṁ prasarad vāṣpanirbharaḥ
Gāḍhaṁ dorbhyāṁ samāliṅgya yas tatraiva vyapadyata.
(BKM, p, 620, Lambaka XIX, Verses 33, 34, 35)

1. Brāhmī Māheśvarī caiva Kaumārī Vaiṣṇavī tathā
Varāhī ca tathendrāṇī Cāmuṇḍā saptamātarah.
2. Āsīt Prakāśendra iti prakāśaḥ Kāśmīradeśe Tridaśeśwaraśrīḥ
Abhūd gṛhe yasya pavitrasatramacchinnam agrāsanam agrajānām.
Yaḥ Śrī Svayambhūbhavane victre lepyapratiṣṭhāpitamātṛcakrān
Gobhūmikṛṣṇājinaveśmadātā tatraiva kāle tanum utsasarja.
(AVC, p. 160).
3. Nānārthijana saṁkalpa pūrṇe kalpapādapaḥ.
(BKM, p. 619, Verse 31)
4. Yasya Meror iyodāra kalyāṇapūrṇa sampadaḥ
Agaṇeyam abhūd gehe yasya bhojyaṁ dvijanmanām.
(Ibid, p. 620, Verse 32).

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he eclipsed Indra by his one virtue 'lustre'[1]. In short, the account given here presents Prakāśendra as a generous almoner and a humanitarian. From this description it is clear that Prakāśendra was rich as Croesus. Being born on the sunny side of the hedge of a father like Prakāśendra, Kṣemendra was endowed with all the qualities of his parent. He possessed the proneness towards divinity. Born with a silver spoon in his mouth, Kṣemendra's life afforded every sort of comfort and rich experience. The atmosphere of an illustrious family like his and the guidance of such a religious father had a definite influence on him. He possessed tremendous foresight, sharp intellect, lively imagination, limitless inquisitiveness and above all a remarkable ardour for difficult mental work. His many-sided abilities and moral as well as ethical qualities, which are revealed all through his works, are partly the outcome of his family tradition, training and atmosphere. The early life of Kṣemendra seems to have been one continuous stream of pleasure unhampered and unhindered by any adverse event. This atmosphere was congenial to his early interests in learning and culture. The traditional genius of Kasmiri poets was the ideal before him and the family atmosphere was impregnated with the spirit of dedication and keen aptitude for advanced study and above all a fervent devotion to Śiva. A healthy imagination and a lively spirit necessary for the great work that he had before him were already bestowed upon him by nature. None of the works of Kṣemendra mentions or indicates any suffering that he ever had to face during his early life. If he had to face hardship in his life it would have definitely found expression through his works. Thus, we can say that the early period of Kṣemendra's life passed through a healthy atmosphere which helped him to distinguish as an outstanding student of literature.

1. Indra evāsi kiṁ tvekaḥ prakāśaste guṇodhikaḥ.

(BHM, p. 849, Verse 2)

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The prolificity which is found in Kṣemendra's works clearly shows that he had a very well-grounded and varied education. His multifarious activity in the field of almost all the branches of literature shows what amount of energy and resources he had in him. All Sanskrit writers, specially on poetics, were, as a rule, men of great erudition. Not until they were well-versed in different branches of literature did these scholars undertake to write on poetics. In general their learning comprised of a deep study of dramaturgy, grammar, the Pūrvamīmāṁsā and the works of their predecessors in the field of Sāhityaśāstra. Being under the instructions of great teachers like Abhinavagupta, Gaṅgaka, Somapāda, Vīrabhadra and many other accomplished gurus, Kṣemendra must have attained a good knowledge of the various branches of Sanskrit literature.

(*e*) *His teachers* :

Kṣemendra is proud to mention the names of his teachers in his works though all have not been named. He is grateful enough to acknowledge his obligation to them and pays high tributes to them in glowing terms. In BKM he writes that he studied rhetorics under Abhinavagupta, author of Vidyāvivṛti[1] or Iśvara Pratyabhijñāvivṛti Vimarśiṇī. This Abhinavagupta, the teacher of Kṣemendra is the same person who wrote a commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata and on the Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana, named Abhinava Bhāratī and Locana respectively. The mention of Abhinavagupta in the earliest works of Kṣemendra shows that he was his first teacher. Abhinavagupta had a tidal influence on the mind of Kṣemendra in his early days. The inclination towards Śaivism which he got from his father was further cultivated and strengthened by the teachings of the doctrines of Śaiva philosophy by Abhinava. Many of his works show a devout inclination towards the Śaiva

1. Śrutvābhinavaguptākhyāt sāhityaṁ bodhavāridheḥ
Ācāryaśekharamaṇir Vidyāvivṛtikāriṇaḥ.
(BKM, p. 620, Vers: 37).

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cult and the earlier works from his pen bear clear testimony to this.

Kṣemendra's association with Abhinavagupta as a pupil was not for a very long time. The last work of Abhinavagupta is of 1014 A.D., and after this year we know that he disappeared into a cave with twelve hundred of his disciples. Kṣemendra's earlier works show a definite influence of Śaivism on his mind but the later works tell a different tale. Though a Śaivite by birth he had to turn to Vaiṣṇavism under the influence of Somapāda—a devotee of this cult. There can be one more reason for this change of faith. After Abhinavagupta, Śaivism did not enjoy the same status in Kāśmīra. Corruption found place amongst the Śaiva followers and this may have given birth to antagonistic views in Kṣemendra's mind towards Śaivism. His Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, wherein we find ridicule of Śaivism, bolster this view. Somapāda, the Bhāgavata preceptor, is eulogized by Kṣemendra in BKM[1] and BHM[2]. The mention of Somapāda, as his teacher, shows that Kṣemendra, though a Śaivite, was also a follower of Vaiṣṇavism. The benedictory verses in almost all his later works have been sung in praise of Lord Viṣṇu[3]. He continued steadfastly as a Vaiṣṇava throughout the remaining span of his life. He feels entirely satisfied when he thinks of what he gained being a worshipper of Lord Viṣṇu. DAC which describes about the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, is indeed a poem sung by a passionate devotee with remarkable intensity. Somapāda's teachings

1. Śrīmad bhāgavatācārya Somapādābja reṇubhiḥ
Dhanyatāṁ yaḥ paraṁ yāto Nārāyaṇaparāyaṇaḥ.
(BKM, p. 620, Verse 38).

2. BHM, Epilogue, Verse 9.

3. Kṛtārivañcane dṛṣṭir yenāñjanamalīmasā
Acyutāya namas tasmai paramaucitya kāriṇe.
(AVC, p. 115, Verse 1).

Many other verses of similar nature are also found in exordiums of his various writings.

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undoubtedly proved fructiferous in bringing forth such a consecrated believer in Vaiṣṇavism. A remarkable change came in his views by the teachings of this great preceptor. He prays for the well being of all through the merit he gained by constant supplication to and incesssant remembrance of Viṣṇu[1].

Buddhism also attracted Kṣemendra as is seen in AKL. This religion had many a propounder and among them was Ācārya Vīrabhadra. From the introduction to AKL by Somendra we find that it was Ācārya Vīrabhadra who gave the first inspiration to Kṣemendra as regards Buddhist religion and philosophy. He acted as a very good teacher of this faith to Kṣemendra. Somendra says that at the instance of Lord Buddha, who appeared to him in a dream, Kṣemendra started the collection of the Avadānas which are birth accounts of past lives of the Buddha. The learned Ācārya Vīrabhadra himself came to him and through his inspiration Kṣemendra acquired a deeply absorbing interest in this great philosophy[2]. This is evidenced by AKL itself wherein we find Kṣemendra's deep knowledge of this religion. The influence of Buddhism on him was so immense that he was inclined to work out a synthesis between Gautama Buddha and Lord Viṣṇu. He is the first writer of Sanskrit who felt that Buddha is no other than an incarnation of Viṣṇu and he even sang in praise of Buddha overwhelmingly in DAC[3]. It is really surprising that this contact with Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism did not create any

1. Stuti saṁkīrtanād viṣṇorvipulaṁ yan mayārjitam
Tenāstu sarvalokānāṁ kalyāṇakuśalodayaḥ.
(DAC, p. 164, Verse 4).

2. Tataḥ svapne Bhagavatā Jinenapreritaḥ svayaṁ
Sograhīt punarudyogam avadānārthasaṁgrahe.
Ahābhyetya svayaṁ tasya gṛhaṁ prajñāprakaśavān
Ācāryo Vīrabhadrākhyaḥ prakhyāta sukṛtojjvalaḥ.
Jinaśāsanaśāstreṣu pariniṣṭhitamānasaḥ
Gambhīrāgama mārgesmin yayau ratnapradīpatām.
(Introduction to AKL, Somendra, p. 1, Verses 11-13).

3. DAC, Canto IX.

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contradiction in the mind of Kṣemendra, as in those days it was against the dictates of society for the follower of one faith to show inclination towards any other cult.

In AVC Gaṅgaka has been mentioned by Kṣemendra as his teacher. We do not find any work of this Upādhyāya or teacher Gaṅgaka but for the single verse quoted by Kṣemendra. Kalhaṇa seems to have no knowledge of Gaṅgaka as such. He mentions one Gaṅga who was a friend of King Saṁgrāmarāja, a ruler during 1003-28 A.D. He expired soon after Saṁgrāmarāja's enthronement. No other teacher has been mentioned by Kṣemendra.

The prolific nature of Kṣemendra's works leads us to the assumption that he must have studied various branches of literature under different teachers. This is supported by his own statement in AVC that he was a student of every wise person (sarvamanīṣiśiṣyaḥ)[1]. It may be asserted in this connection that he does not say this out of sheer humility. He had to learn and learn the various branches of literature under many specialists in order to chisel and polish his intellect. He must have faced an ordeal every time to get admission under a competent teacher. Those were the days when every student, who wanted to be a pupil of an accomplished teacher, had to distinguish himself in a tough interview. His knowledge was scanned through several measures of competency and if found talented he was admitted to learn under such a preceptor. We confidently say that Kṣemendra passed all such tests and came out with a brilliant torch in his hand to illuminate the unknown regions of life and nature through literature.

(f) *Centres of his activity* :

The vast creative output which flowed from the pen of Kṣemendra hardly indicates the actual place where it was

1. Tasyātmajaḥ sarvamanīṣiśiṣyaḥ Śrī Vyāsādāsāparapuṇyanāmā
Kṣemendra ityakṣaya kāvyakīrtiś cakre navaucityavicāracarcām.
(AVC. p. 160).

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produced. The poet's reticence about the place of composition of his various works may be interpreted in one way or the other. The mention of King Ananta, under whom he was a subject, would perhaps lead us to deduce that he was residing in the kingdom of his mention of Tripureśaśaila as his place of residence in one of the concluding verses of DAC[1]. This is the only reference made by Kṣemendra.

Thus, the 11th century of the Christian era is a landmark in the history of classical Sanskrit literature, or more precisely, in the history of Kasmirian Sanskrit lore, when Kṣemendra, a poet of indomitable power and enthusiasm was born and who with his pen touched upon many a sphere of life and writing most extensively and to the best advantage flourished as the presiding creative genius of his times.

1. Prakhyātātiśayasya tasya tanayaḥ Kṣemendranāmābhavat.
Tena Śrī Tripureśaśailaśikhare viśrāntisaṁtoṣiṇā.
(DAC, p. 164, Verses 2 and 3)

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2

A Critical Review of Kṣemendra's Works

In KK Kṣemendra distinguishes between three types of poets, those who are born poets, those who achieved poetic skill with effort and those who are incapable of ever acquiring it. Obviously, Kṣemendra belonged to the first variety. He has also set down the training that such a one should receive :

Kurvīta Sāhityavidaḥ sakāśe śrutārjanaṁ kāvya samudbhavāya/Na Tārkikaṁ Kevala śābdikaṁ vā kuryād guruṁ sūkti vikāsa vighnam//Vijñāta śabdāgama nāma dhātuś chandovidhāne vihita śramaś ca/Kāvyeṣu mādhurya manorameṣu Kuryād akhinnaḥ śravaṇābhiyogam//Gīteṣu gāthāsvatha deśabhāṣākāvyeṣu dadyātsaraseṣu karṇam/Vācāṁ camatkāravidhāyinīnāṁ navārtha carcāsu ruciṁ vidadhyāt.//Rase rase tanmayatāṁ gatasya guṇe guṇe harṣavaśīkṛtasya/Vivekasekasvakapākabhinnaṁ manaḥ prasūteṅkuravat kavitvam[1]//

No one satisfied these conditions better than Kṣemendra. He had studied assiduously under great literati and acquired great learning. He knew intimately all the existing forms of literature. When he began writing poetry, in the beginning he chose to do such work as would give his poetic powers the necessary practice before they could be applied independently.

(a) *General division of his works* :

Kṣemendra did not confine his creative faculty to any particular channel but allowed the flood of his literary powers and skill to overflow and spread over the vast expanses of almost

1. KK. p. 123, Sandhi I, Verses 15-18.

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all the existing literary branches. He produced as many as thirty-four works on different subjects but unfortunately only a few of them have been found. However, the works available to us are enough to bear testimony to the quality of his genius. His compositions can be classified under the following four divisions :

1. Poetical Epitomes
2. Didactic Poems
3. Poetics and Metrics
4. Miscellaneous treatises

This division is based on the nature of his works. The head Poetical Epitomes will cover Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, Bhāratamanjarī, Rāmāyaṇamañjarī or Rāmāyaṇakathāsāra, Avadānakalpalatā or Bauddhāvadānakalpalatā and Daśāvatāracarita. Deśopadeśa, Narmamāla, Samayamātṛka will come under the division—Didactic Poems. His access into Poetics and Metrics is seen in Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, Aucityavicāracarcā and Suvṛttatilaka which also mention a number of other works of Kṣemendra that are now unfortunately missing. The division Miscellaneous treatises will include Lokaprakāśakoṣa, Nītikalpataru and Vyāsāṣṭaka. This will also include those works which are known only by name. It may be remembered that Kṣemendra never wrote his works with this sort of division in mind. He did not want to be circumscribed by any such mechanical apportionment. Kṣemendra devoted a considerable time to prepare the poetical epitomes of the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya, the Kāmastutra of Vātsyāyana, Bāṇa's Kādambarī and Buddhist Avadānas. Epitomizing is in itself a great art and Kṣemendra knew its worth. In Kavikaṇṭhabhāraṇa he states that a budding poet should follow the great poets and start writing after the patterns set down by these eminent writers. This would give them a footing in poetic practice and gradually they would be able to outgrow and flourish independently.

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To Kṣemendra Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata were not mere histories of Rāma, the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. They had a different value for him. Inspired by these values he undertook to write these epitomes for two different reasons. On the one hand he himself was greatly impressed by the high moral quality portrayed in these epics and believed that his contemporaries would gain much by their study, while on the other hand he found that the people had faith in these epics and were willing to follow the teachings contained in them. This encouraged Kṣemendra to retell these ever fresh stories in his own inimitable way. These epitomes are not condensed or abridged forms of the epics. They contain the epic subject-matter in full and yet in a nutshell. One does not feel that Kṣemendra merely tried his hand at versification. In his hands the material acquires a new meaning.

Kṣemendra did not feel content with the epitomes of one or two works alone. In order to acquire mastery in his field, he persisted in this work and did not swerve from it even later in his life when he was quite mature as a poetic artist. It is said that when he read Kādambarī he found it more palatable and nourishing than his food and under a sort of intoxication he undertook to rewrite its story the way he fancied. Vātsyāyana offered him the flavour of life and the same filled the body of his work 'Vātsyāyanasūtrasāra'. When he turned to Buddhism, the Avadānas proffered him the religious mould and Kṣemendra could not afford to miss the opportunity. He continued to write epitomes along with his other treatises. The value he attached to this kind of work was immense and his endeavour in this respect has been commendable. The originality of the poet can be clearly seen in these works even though the stories remain the same. The Buddhist Avadānas interested him much and he wrote AKL.

Coming to the didactic works from his pen, DU, NM, SU, KV, DD, CC, CS and SM were written at a time when the

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society needed some guidance on the right path. The snares of the courtesans were rampant. Relations between masters and servants were strained. Arrogance was vexing, lawless characters were growing in number and the atrocities of Kāyasthas were becoming intolerable. The only remedy to ward off these social evils was to warn the public against them and to put before them a code of good behaviour. Kṣemendra seems to have attained a good deal of success in doing this and that is why we find him to have been occupied with these moral teachings for a considerable period.

There is a good reason for his compositions on poetics and metrics. His predecessors like Bharata, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Udbhaṭa, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, Ānandavardhana, Rājaśekhara and Kuntaka had spoken about the soul of poetry. The love for poetics characteristic of the Kāśmirian writers remained unchanged in all ages. The different schools in the domain of poetics, i.e., Rasa, Dhavani, Alaṁkāra and Vakrokti were in existence before Kṣemendra founded a fifth school named Aucitya. He discerned that these schools were a little inconsistent and added the valuable elements which they were lacking by writing AVC. A methodical treatment of the subject 'the making of a poet' was found nowhere before. For the first time Kṣemendra put forth his ideas on the subject through KK. The popular metres found in the works of great poets like Kālidāsa, etc., were once again processed by him in ST. He wanted a poet-in-the-making to have a comprehensive knowledge of the methods of versification and employment of metres[1] and thus gave them an account of beautiful rythm through ST.

The rest of the works of Kṣemendra, viz., Vyāsāṣṭaka, Nītikalpataru, Lokaprakāśakoṣa,, Śaśivaṁśamahākāvya, Citra-

1. Vijñāta śabdāgamanāmadhātus chandovidhāne vihitaśramaśca
Kāvyeṣu mādhurya manorameṣu kuryād akhinnaḥ śravaṇābhiyogam.
(KK, p. 123, Verse 16).

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bhāratanāṭaka, Kanakajānakī, Amṛtataraṅgamahākāvya, Vinayavallī, Lāvaṅyavatī, Munimatamīmāṁsā, Lalitaratnamālā, Muktāvali, and Pavanapañcāśikā show a wide range of performance in the field of literature. Every work is an example of his well grounded substance in the province of poetic art. The amplitude of gift and vision which is found in his writings testifies to his multifarious interest in life and literature.

It has already been said that the period of Kṣemendra's literary activity falls between 1037 to 1066 A.D. The magnitude of the works from his pen indicates that he remained busy throughout his life. In the absence of any chronological order given by him about his works we have only to depend on possibilities and sometimes on mere surmises in fixing the date of each of his works. In fact what type of works interested him first is a difficult thing to make out. A poet would never chalk out a plan or scheme for writing poetry as poetry is essentially the "spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings ; it takes its origin from emotions recollected in tranquillity"[1]. Any planning for writing poetry would be an utter failure. Kṣemendra also like any other poet had to rely on inspiration and spontaneity of emotions. He disregarded dating each of his works and therefore does not mention at the end of each work when it was completed. In some of his works, however, he mentions the date of their completion. The dates of the remaining available works can be fixed with plausible reasons. The scope of these surmises obviously exclude those which are found only in name. A point may be stressed that Kṣemendra might have started writing poetry by striving to epitomize the two epics and other great works. He might have done so in order to attain perfection in this comprehensive art. This can be one of the reasons but it cannot be concluded that he undertook only this work first and did not devote himself to any other.

1. Wordsworth, Preface to Lyrical Ballads.

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In the following pages an attempt is made to examine each of his works critically and estimate the date of their composition. The chronometry of each work has also been mentioned separately.

(b) *Bṛhatkathāmāñjari* :

(i) *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, created before Rāmāyaṇamañjarī—External and Internal evidence* :

The first work to have come from the pen of Kṣemendra is Bṛhatkathāmañjarī. The reasons, for which this work, being a reproduction of Guṇaḍbya's Bṛhatkathā written in the Paiśācī language, is considered by me as the earliest available work, are as follows :

Kṣemendra had not assumed the title 'Vyāsadāsa' when he wrote BKM and thus the colophon of every Lambaka or chapter of BKM makes no mention of the title 'Vyāsadāsa' along with the name of the poet. Every Lambaka ends with the words "It Śrīkṣemendraviracite Bṛhatkathāsāre" or "Iti Śrī Kṣemendraviracitāyāṁ Bṛhatkathāyām". It is only at the close of BKM that we find this title "Iti Vyāsādāsaparākhya Kṣemendraviracitā Bṛhatkathā saṁpūrṇā". This seems to be a later interpolation. If Kṣemendra had assumed this title before he wrote BKM it may be presumed he would have used it at the end of each Lambaka. Perhaps this title was assumed by Kṣemendra after he wrote BKM. I say 'perhaps' because the omission of the pen name 'Vyāsadāsa' from BKM cannot be taken as a crucial proof of the priority of this work. Readers will find the same omission in another later work of the poet, i.e., AKL. One more point in support of this argument is that in RM Kṣemendra mentions the verse :

Lobhābhimāna malināni dhanāni nityaṁ
kāntākaṭākṣa caṭulāni ca jīvitāni
Jñātveti candra dhavalāni yaśāṁsi yena

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kāvyaiḥ sthirāṇi bhuvaneṣu niveśitāni[1].

wherein he alludes to some Kāvyas written by him before. This Kāvya can be no other be no other than BKM and a few others which he wrote at the instance of Rāmayaśas his other teacher :

Āmodayanti sarasānyatikomalāni
vipreṇa Rāmayaśasā praṇayārthitāni
Yenāniśaṁ praṇayabhūṣaṇatāṁ janasya
nītāni kāvyakusumānyasitāni tāni[2].

An obvious influence of Śaiva philosophy can be seen in BKM which also supports its being the first work. Kṣemendra had learnt Sāhitya under Abhinavagupta, the Śaiva philosopher. Being a disciple of this great expounder of Śaivism, Kṣemendra took to Śaivism and remained a Śaivite until late in his life. The influence of Śaiva philosophy on BKM will be brought to light later. It would be a mistake to place RM first and BKM later due to the fact that Kṣemendra first took to Śaivism and then to Vaiṣṇavism. Abhinavagupta was his first teacher and therefore it is more probable that Kṣemendra was initiated into the teachings of Śaiva philosophy earlier.

Adequate internal evidence too may be found in support of this contention. A close study of BKM and RM shows that the two works indicate two different stages in the development of the thought and form of his poetry. The style of BKM markedly differs from that of RM. The former seems to be the work of a novice who has not learnt to care for the appropriateness of the descriptions and prolongs them unnecessarily. The early epitomizer seems to be very careful about bringing in every account howsoever trivial it may be. He spins every thread closely. He is not discriminating and seems wary of using his discretion. He takes every event lest

1. RM, p. 509, Verse 7.
2. RM, p. 509, Verse 8.

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one may be left. The same writer who is so meticulous in writing the epitome of BKM turns more liberal while epitomizing the Rāmāyaṇa. Here he has learnt to use discretion and thus leaves the old method and evolves a new one by which he can be more free to select his own descriptions. He is carelessly careful in abridging the original by including every kathā or upakathā which is important. The beauty of his art and style is seen where he compresses the lengthy descriptions. An example may be taken. He does not find any interest in the description of the demonesses who try to persuade Sītā to marry Rāvaṇa even though Vālmīki has given a detailed portrayal of these in the Rāmāyaṇa. Likewise, the Aśvamedha sacrifice performed by Daśaratha which finds an elaborate account at the hands of Vālmīki is only mentioned in name by Kṣemendra[1].

The introductory verses of BKM bring out a very important point in support of my contention. Verse 3 and 4 which indicate an autobiographical account present to us the direct hint of BKM being the first work[2]. The fact that he places the critics in the company of the 'Durjanas' and 'Ghūkas' and 'backsliders' shows that he was afraid of the critics and considered them as evils. The fear of such critics who do not allow a novice to stand in the field of literature is there in his subconscious mind because he is presenting to the readers his first work. After having warned the readers against backsliding critics he says that his work abounds in figures of speech.

1. Aśvamedhakṛtodyogaṁ sumantro mantriṇāṁ varaḥ.
(RM, p. 4, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Verse 45).

2. Doṣālokananipunaḥ paruṣagiro durjanāśca ghūkāśca
Darśanam api bhayajananam yeṣāmanimeṣapiśunānām.
Ojorañjanameva varṇaracanāścitrā na kasya priyā
nānālaṅkṛtayaśca kasya na manaḥ saṁtoṣamātanvate
Kāvye kim tu sutām camatkṛtikṛtaḥ sūktiprabandhaḥ sphuṭam
Tīkṣṇāgrā jhaṭiti śrutipraṇayinaḥ kāntākaṭakṣā iva.
(BKM, p. 1, Lambaka I, Taraṅga I, Verse 3-4).

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and rasas which will make them fall into the raptures as would the glances of young maidens. It is obvious from this reference that, unlike other works, after BKM which is his maiden work, he comes forward with utmost humbleness.

Two parallel passages taken from both the works reveal the superiority of RM to BKM in the quality of imagination and poetic art. The description of Spring in the ninth Lambaka of BKM is at follows :

"Atrāntare Vasantartur viṣādaḥ kumudaśriyaḥ
Viṣādaḥ proṣitastrīṇāṁ vanānteṣu cakāsire.
Vyākosikiṁśukāśokapalāśair vibabhurdiśaḥ
Smaraploṣaruṣā sphurjajjvala jālair ivodgataiḥ.
Babhur virahiṇīśokataptaniḥśvasasodaraḥ
Cūtacampakakiñjalkapiñjarā dakṣiṇānilaḥ.[1]"

In RM also in Araṇyaparva there is a description of Spring in the following manner :

Athādṛśyat pañcesumaṅgalo madhupotsavaḥ
Viyuktaramaṇīkālaḥ kālaḥ kusumalāñchanaḥ.
Kāntākaṭakṣataralā mattāḥ kusumareṇubhiḥ
Ceruḥ śilīmukhastulyaṁ vasantasya smarasya ca.
Māninīmanamātaṇgamaśokalikārajaḥ
Na sehe nāgagandhograḥ kesarī kusumākaraḥ.
Vibabhau stokasaṁjātastabakastanabandhuraḥ
Bhṛṅgālakāvilāsinyo latāḥ kisalayādharāḥ.
Parāgapītakusumāḥ kusumāpitasekharaḥ
Sṛṅgārabhaṛaṇā bhānti kiṁśukāśokacampakāḥ.
Adṛśyaḥ parṇakusumaih karṇikāroyamudyataḥ
Kāmī ca bhāti dayitākuṇkumapiñjarah.
Puṣpitaḥ sindhuvāroyaṁ svairaṁ śyamāgamotsukaḥ
Jyotsnāpuñjaputaireva sthitaścandrovaguṇṭhitaḥ.
Āliṅgati latāsālaṁ nāḍi ślisyati bhūdharam
Apyādatte navautsukyaṁ Caitraścitram acetasām[2].

1. BKM, p.p. 245-246, Lambaka IX, Guccha I, Verses 373-375.
2. RM, pp. 169-171, Araṇyaparva, Verse 1139-1142, 1150-1153.

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A careful comparison of these two passages shows that the earlier passage lacks the depth of feeling which is found in the later passage about the approach of the Spring. It also lacks the minuteness and imaginative detail of the second passage. The poet of BKM as revealed in the given passage seems a good deal sentimental, content only with the mention of the blooming lotuses, the increase of the pangs of women who are separated from their lovers, the blossoming of Kiṁśuka, Aśoka and Palāśa trees which have made the atmosphere red as if with the flames of the anger of Cupid, the southern breezes fattened by the heavy hot sighs of women and turned pale by the pollens of mango and Campaka, etc. He seems unable to go deeper to describe what effect the Spring has brought on the lovers and the animate and inanimate beings. The complete emotional revolution and reawakening that is brought by the advent of Spring has not been captured by him adequately. The description lacks power, immensity and vigour that characterize the very essence of Spring.

In the second passage the poet has a definitely better and maturer grasp. This portion shows a vision of the immensity and infinite variety of the Spring and is animated in every detail like the lively season itself : "Then appeared the Spring, blissful amongst the five arrows of Cupid, the festival of the bees, the time of the ladies in separation. The arrows of the Cupid shot by the glances of women and the bees intoxicated by the pollens of the flowers shine forth. The lion-like Spring does not bear the bitter smell of Nāga tree in the form of an elephant and the pollens of Aśoka buds do not bear the anger of the infuriated maidens. The creepers are looking beautiful with the breasts of the little buds of Bandhura, the braids of hair in the form of bees and with lips in the form of tender leaves. With pollened flowers and the tops covered by the flowers, the decorating ornaments, Kiṁśuka, Aśoka and Campaka look beautiful. This voluptuous Karṇikâra is invisible, covered by leaves and flowers and is looking beautiful

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variegated by the vermilion applied to the breasts of his beloved. This Sindhuvāra eager to meet the night has blossomed and the Moon is veiled by the heap of her light. The creeper is embracing the Sāla tree, the river is embracing the mountain, the Caitra is giving a strange new eagerness to inanimate beings".

This is neither mere observation nor merely sentimental. What is central to the passage and fascinating is the active and quickening power of life which the poet has described with a passion unknown in the other work. BKM lacks the rich sensuous detail and power of RM which from all these points of view appears to be the later work.

(ii) Two recensions of Bṛhatkathā :

BKM is an epitome of Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhatkathā written in Paiśācī dialect. This great work of fable literature from the pen of Guṇāḍhya is now lost, perhaps to posterity. We find three versions of the same work in Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha of Buddhasvāmin, Bṛhatkathāñjarī of Kṣemendra and Kathāsaritsāgra of Somadeva. The Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha has twenty eight cantos and has 4539 verses. In the opinion of F. Lacote[1] the content of this work must have been 25,000 verses at least and more than 1000 cantos. The work being incomplete in form does not command much attention as a representative of Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhatkathā. Another version of Guṇāḍhya's work is Kathāsaritsāgara written by Somadeva of 12th century A.D. This was created after Bṛhatkathāmañjarī of Kṣemendra and depends much on the latter so far as treatment of the subject is concerned. This poem is an elaborate one running into 21,000 verses but is divided into the same number of chapters as BKM, only with a slight variation in the order. The poet claims to be very faithful to the original. For a more faithful version of Bṛhatkathā, we can rely on BKM of Kṣemendra which gave impetus to Somadeva

1. Kṛṣṇamachari, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 418.

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to write a detailed version also. Kṣemendra's poem is divided into Lambakas or chapters which are nineteen in number. These chapters are further subdivided into Taraṅgas. The book opens with Kathāpīṭha describing the common legend of Guṇāḍhya. The glorification of King Udayana is found in the second Lambaka. In the third, through profound courtship he wins Padmāvatī. The birth of Naravāhanadatta forms the subject matter of the fourth Lambaka and he must have been the ruler of Vidhyādharas. His close associate Śaktivega comes to him with the information that he procured four maidens when he went to the city of Vidyādharas. The story of Sūryaprabhā is told in the sixth Lambaka. In the seventh, Kaliṅgadatta, father of Kaliṅgasenā, makes Udayana agree to marry his daughter. But this is very much objected to by Udayana's minister Yaugandharāyaṇa and therefore he promises to marry Kaliṅgasenā to Naravāhanadatta. The episodical lengend of Velā and her husband is portrayed in the eighth Lambaka. This also tells about the abduction of Madanamañcukā by Mānasavega. The ninth Lambaka brings forth Lalitalocanā selected by the Prince but she deserts him. The legends related to Vikramāditya are narrated in the tenth while in the eleventh lost Lalitalocanā is retrieved. The tale of Muktāphalaketu is told in the twelfth Lambaka by Gomukha. With the help of five Vidyādhara maidens, the Prince gets back Madanamañcukā who is again lost and so he marries the four girls, a description of this is found in the thirteenth. The marriage of the Prince with Ratnaprabhā is narrated in the fourteenth. Alaṅkāravatī is married to the Prince in the fifteenth Lambaka. In the sixteenth also a description of the wedding has been given. Śaktiyaśas acquires seven jewels from Vāmadeva and kills Mandāradeva in the seventeenth. The rule of Gopāla and Pālaka ends in Ujjaina as they relinquish throne. Avantivarman marries the heroine and the Emperor bestows his protection on the two against a jealous Vidyādhara. The nineteenth Lambaka is a coup de grâce.

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(ii) a. *A review of the opinions of Western scholars on Bṛhatkathāmañjarī and the comparison of it with Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva :*

Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, the great repository of fables, has always evinced the attention of the scholars especially the Western. Bühler, Sylvain Lévi, M., Speyer, J.S., Lacôte, F., Mańkowski, L., Emeneau, M.B., have all put forward their various theories about the present form of BKM in relation to that of Somadevā's Kāthāsāritsāgārā and have tried to prove how far Kṣemendra adhered to the original of Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhatkathā. It is noticeable that Somadeva wrote Kathāsaritsāgara under the influence of BKM of Kṣemendra. Those who have made a comparative study of the two works have invariably noticed the brevity of Kṣemendra's work resulting in a certain obscurity. Bühler, in his article "On the Vrihatkathā of Kṣemendra" remarks—"His style is not so flowing as Somadeva's and in his excessive eagerness for brevity, he sometimes becomes obscure"[1]. Sylvain Lévi remarks—"S'agitil de ranconter ? Kṣhemendra resserre, résume, élague et substitue ā un original vivant, mouvementé, dramatique, une narration séche et laconique vers descriptifs ? Kshemendra s'empresse d'en profiter sans aucun souci des proportions générales"[2]. Speyer also points out a few digressions in the work[3]. This criticism cannot be said to be very just. We cannot compare the two versions of Bṛhatkathā by Kṣemendra and Somadeva because the principles of condensation in the eyes of both were different. The idea of the former was not only to write an epitome but also to establish himself as a poet. Fidelity to the original could not have been so very essential in the eyes of one whose very purpose in writing the epitome was to give oneself a practice in poetic composition. From this point of view Kṣemendra made a liberal use of Guṇāḍhya's

1. Indian Antiquary I.
2. La Bṛihatkathāmañjarī de Kshemendra, J. Asiatique VI & VII.
3. Studies about the Kathasarit sāgara.

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work taking it as the basis for practising his poetic skill. Naturally, there are digressions as referred to by Sylvain Lévi and others. For it is in these digressions that Kṣemendra is expressing himself independently. These digressions are the first original expressions of Kṣemendra. A few instances would show that in these digressions Kṣemendra shows his inclination towards such things as came to dominate his poetry more and more in later stages. His moralistic attitude is revealed in the following verses :

Nirvairitā vinayatā priyavāditā ca
prāṇairapi praṇayināṁ priyapūraṇaṁ ca
Ityudgramohamadamānaviṣolbaṇasya
saṁsāraghorjaladhcramṛtachaṭeva[1].
Bhavesminpavanodbhrāntavīcīvibhramabhaṅgure
Jāyate puṇyayogena parārthejīvita/yayaḥ[2].

The influence of Kāśmīra Śaivism which has been discussed at length in chapter V also stands as a basis for a slightly independent work. That BKM is an independent work is further justified by the occurence of florid descriptions and figures of speech used by Kṣemendra. The adoption of this method catered to the taste of the readers and also gave him an opportunity to show himself and prove his skill in employing all the techniques of poetic excellence. BKM must have been very popular during Kṣemendra's life time and even after him, the reason being that it was composed according to the taste and demand of the day. Its poularity must have induced Somadeva to write another epitome of the same work. Somadeva's primary interest must have been a faithful abridgment of Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhatkthā. Naturally, there are no digressions and no obscurities. Wherever he finds Kṣemendra's descriptions satisfactory, he is not chary of using them as is evident from the following comparison of the two works. A

1. BKM, p. 110, Lambaka V, Guccha I, Verse 98.
2. Ibid, p. 362, Lambaka IX, Guccha II, Verse 925.

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careful weighing of both the epitomes shows that but for the detailed narration, in other aspects Somadeva is largely influenced by Kṣemendra. The division of the chapters in Kathāsarit sāgara is on the pattern followed by Kṣemendra :

Bṛhatkathāmañjarī	*Kathāsartisāgara*
Kathāpīṭha	Kathāpīṭha
Kathāmukha	Kathāmukha
Lāvāṇaka	Lāvāṇaka
Naravāhanadattajanma	Naravāhanadattajanma
Caturdārikā	Caturdārikā
Sūryaprabhā	Madanamañcukā
Madanamañcukā	Ratnaprabhā
Velā	Sūryaprabhā
Śaśāṅkavatī	Alaṅkāravatī
Viṣamaśīla	Śaktiyaśaḥ
Madirāvatī	Velā
Padmāvatī	Śaśāṅkavatī
Pañca	Madirāvatī
Ratnaprabhā	Pañcalambaka
Alaṅkāravatī	Madābhiṣeka
Śaktiyaśaḥ	Suratamañjarī
Mahābhiṣeka	Padmāvatī
Suratamañjarī	Viṣamaśīla
Upasaṁhāra	Grantha kartuḥ Praśastiḥ

Thus, in Kathāsaritsāgara, Somadeva has only changed the order. My contention is further supported by the fact that Somadeva in Kathāsaritsāgara, though boasting[1] that he had

1. Yathāmūlaṁ tathā vai tan na manāg apyatikramaḥ
Granthavistarasaṁkṣepamātraṁ bhaṣā ca bhidyate.

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not drifted from the original of Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhatkathā, depended on Kṣemendra's BKM for the diction and particular expressions as can be observed in the following verses :

Niḥśabdajanasaṁcāre kutopi mūsaladhvanim
Śrutvaiva saṁjātakiṇau dhunvānā karapallavau.
Daṣṭāvivetya madhupair utphullakamalāśayā
Hā hatāsmīti cukrośa tārasītkāraśālinī[1].

The purport of the above has been given by Somadeva with a slight change in the following :

Dadarśa tatra tasyāśca cinvan sāśruḥ paricchadaḥ
Ālīnabhramarau padmāviva hastau kiṇāṅkitau[2].

The following verse of BKM :

Uktveti cikṣepa nṛpaḥ sahasā salile tanum
Smaradāvāgninirvāṇadhiyevāhitasāhasaḥ[3].

has been given by Somadeva as under :

Tad dṛṣṭvaivānumārgesyāḥ sa rājātmānam akṣipat
Vāridhāvatra kāmāgnisaṁtāpasyeva śāntaye.

Much cannot be said as to how far the descriptions of Guṇāḍhya were incorporated by Kṣemendra in BKM as Bṛhatkathā is lost. It would be a mere conjecture to say that Bṛhatkthā was only a narrative and the poet's inclination did not tend in other directions and specimens of Kāvya. The doubtful authenticity of BKM's close conformity with Bṛhatkathā can easily be waived in view of Kṣemendra's other two epitomes—BHM and RM which he has condensed without marring the spirit of the originals. I think that there should be sufficient liberty for a poet, even when he is engaged in the

Aucityānvaya rakṣā ca yathāśakti vidhīyate
Kathārasavidhānena kāvyāṁśasya ca yojanā.
Vaidagdhyakhyāti lobhāya mama naivāyamudyamaḥ
Kiṁtu nānākathājālasmṛtisaukarya siddhaye,
(Kathāsaritsāgara, Lambaka I, Taraṅga I, Vs. I0-12).

1. BKM, pp. 575-576, Story 11, Verses 23-24.
2. Kathāsaritsāgara, p. 85, Verse 26.
3. BKM, p. 621, Story 12, Verse 41.

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work of writing epitomes, so that he does not appear merely parasitical. Kṣemendra takes care not to be so in BKM and his popularity which was chiefly due to the truly creative qualities of his work encouraged a poet like Somadeva to write another epitome.

(C) *Vyāsāṣṭaka* :

In the appendix of Bhāratamañjarī Kṣemendra gives the reason for his writing this great work. The great sage Vyāsa appeared to him in a dream and directed him to take up the great task of writing BHM. Kṣemendra was gratified and he wrote in the eulogy of Vyāsa eight verses which form the subject matter of 'Vyāsāṣṭaka'. The verses show his deep devotion to Vyāsa through whose inspiration he was able to undertake writing BHM. The verses of Vyāsāṣṭaka somehow appear in the appendix of BHM published in Kāvyamālā Series, No. 64, though they were written before BHM as is evident from the verse :

Iti Vyāsāṣṭakaṁ kṛtvā Mahābhāratamañjarīm
Sa cakre vibudhānandasudhāsyandataraṅgiṇīm[1].

In view of this internal evidence Vyāsāṣṭaka is an earlier work than BHM.

(D) *Bhāratamañjarī* :

At the end of Rāmāyaṇamañjarī Kṣemendra mentions that at the encouragement of Rāmayaśas, his teacher, he completed a few works[2]. This is corroborated by what Kṣemendra says in Bhāratamañjarī as to the purpose of writing this work. Once Rāmayaśas asked Kṣemendra to produce an abridged form of the Mahābhārata. He agreed to do so and wrote the epitome of the Mahābhārata.[3]. It was Somapāda, an Ācārya of Bhāgavata faith, who initiated him into the Bhāgavata cult

1. BHM, p. 851, Verse 21.
2. RM, p. 509, Verse 8
3. BHM, p. 850, Verse 10.

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and thus he developed reverence for Nārāyaṇa[1]. The carita of Nārāyaṇa was revealed to him by Vyāsa himself in a dream and at his impulse he took to narrate the Mahābhārata[2].

BHM can be placed as a work written after BKM or more precisely after Vyāsāṣṭaka. The Mahābhārata in the time of Kṣemendra was being regarded as the fifth Veda. Kṣemendra compares BHM to a mirror reflecting a big elephant in the minutest detail though in miniature[3]. This abridgement, it seems, was very much admired by his readers and it helped him to establish himself as a very proficient poet[4]. It was not an easy task to epitomize a voluminous work like the Mahābhārata. It needed an ingenious mind like that of Kṣemendra to abridge it. The poet already had experience in this art of creative condensation. But unlike Bṛhatkathā, the Mahābharāta is an encyclopaedia of diversified subjects like philosophy, ethics, morality and politics. This work requires greater alertness of mind for selection, control and condensation in the form of art. The simple narrative character of Bṛhatkathā was not found in the Mahābhārata. Kṣemendra now seems to have become a master in the art of condensation. He has learnt adequately and has realised that the excessive use of poetical embellishments is not quite necessary while attempting abridgement of a greater work. The best abridgement is one which adequately maintains the spirit of the original. The ingenuity, alertness and maturity seen in BHM shows that it is a work produced after BKM.

The title Vyāsadāsa assumed by Kṣemendra when he wrote

1. Ibid, p. 850, Verse 8.
2. Ibid, p. 850, Verse 11.
3. Madvacodarpaṇatale Mahābhāratadigdvipaḥ
   Samastāvayavopyeṣa muṣṭimeyá ivekṣyate.
   (BHM, p. 851, Verse 2)
4. Eṣa Viṣṇukathātīrthapuṇyavatsalilokṣitaḥ
   Prāptaḥ sāmānyajalpopi Kṣemendrodya kavīndratām.
   (BHM, p. 851, Verse 5).

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the eulogy of Vyāsa in Vyāsāṣṭaka can also prove BHM as a later work. But, we cannot take it as a decisive proof because, as already pointed out, this title is mentioned at random by the poet. A reference has already been made before that BKM has a marked influence of Śaiva philosophy and this influence was surely due to the teachings of Abhinavagupta. After the death of this great exponent of Śaivism, Kṣemendra became a disciple of Ācārya Somapāda and others and started advocating a different cult. This could not have been very late after Abhinavagupta.

BHM provides us with an abstract of the Mahābhārata which is the oldest of its type. Kṣemendra has been faithful to the original text in the form in which it existed at that time. A few omissions are found in BHM but they appear to be due to the peculiar text of the Mahābhārata which was available in those days. The changes which have taken place in the text of the Mahābhārata from the time of Kṣemendra to this day can be well noticed with the help of BHM. The position of the Northern recensions of the Mahābhārata can also be well ascertained with its help. Truly speaking, Kṣemendra does not skip over the incidents or episodes as found in the Mahābhārata and thus provides us with the Kāśmīrī form of this great epic. The insertion of the subsidiary things by Kṣemendra is effortless. The so called omissions found in BHM can well be justified on the grounds that they were not available to him in the manuscript of the Mahābhārata which he possessed. The method of abridgement adopted by the poet in condensing the descriptive passages, speeches and episodes is in consonance with his conception of their importance. He does not pay much attention to the unnecessary and lengthy descriptions and reduces them to reasonable limits. The display of ornamental poetry wherever it is found in BHM is, as a matter of fact, to add a little charm to the purely narrative style of the Mahābhārata. But, the admixture of this paraphernalia sometimes shows a delightful refraction from

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the original. An example may be taken. In the Araṇyaparva of BHM, the beauty of the maiden Damayantī is described in a highly decorative manner :

Lāvaṇyabharaṇodārāṁ mithyaivāhitabhūṣaṇām
Pradīpaśabalālokāmiva pūrṇenducandrikām.
Vilolalocanāpāṅgaturāṅgadhavalatviṣā
Kṣālayantīmiva muhuḥ karṇotpaladalāvalīm.
Kāntāṁ stanastabakinīṁ sarāgādharapallavām
Sudhāgarbhasamudbhūtāṁ pārijātalatāmiva.
Tanumadhyāṁ pṛthuśroṇīṁ ghanodbhinnapayodharām
Niḥśeṣitaśarasyeva śaktiṁ kusumadhanvanaḥ.
Vidyādharā nayantyenāṁ kadāciditi śaṅkayā
Maṇikuṭṭimasaṁkrāntāṁ bhuvevāntaḥpraveśitām.
Tāṁ candravadanāṁ vīkṣya vismayākulito Nalaḥ
Babhūvānandaniḥsyando dhṛteḥ kṣaṇamanīśvaraḥ[1].

Instances like this found in BHM compared to Mahābhārata show the poet's skill in the composition of ornamental poetry. These are no inferior deviations from the original because the original describes the beauty of Damayantī in terms of lesser beauty and glory :

Dadarśa tatra vaidarbhīṁ sakhīgaṇa samāvṛtām
Dedīpyamānāṁ vapuṣā śriyā ca varavarṇinīm.
Atīva sukumārāṅgīṁ tanumadhyāṁ sulocanām
Ākṣipantīmiva prabhāṁ śaśinaḥ svena tejasā.
Tasya dṛṣṭvaiva vavṛdhe kāmas tāṁ cāruhāsinīm
Satyaṁ cikīrṇamāṇastu dhārayāmāsa hṛcchayām[2].

The description was enough to inspire Kṣemendra to do the quality of work his genius was, independently and more adequately, capable of. A creative artist must not lose his individuality even when he is abbreviating a work. Kṣemendra is first a poet and artist and then an epitomiser. His conscious intention in composing BHM was merely to present the story

1. BHM, p. 185, Verses 407-412.
2. Mahābhārata, Āraṇyakaparva, Adhyāya 55, Verses 12-14.

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of the Mahābhārata in a nutshell but the poet in him unconsciously improved upon the poetic style and method of treatment of the epic theme. If he was not to provide anything new his readers could very well be content with the Mahābhārata itself. But the honour attained by Kṣemendra after the composition of BHM is a profound testimony to the value which his readers gave to the new work. The secret of this achievement was his effort to imbibe and preserve the epic kernel. As regards the transgressions from the chosen path it will be noticed that they are very few and wherever they occur the ult imate effect is beautiful.

(E) *Rāmāyaṇamañjarī* :

Another epic processed by the hands of Kṣemendra is the Rāmāyaṇa of the great sage Vālmīki which is reproduced in Rāmāyaṇamañjarī. The work is truly representative of his faith in the Vaiṣṇava cult. An attempt has been made in the earlier pages to establish the posteriority of this composition to BKM. While tracing the chronography of BKM it has been pointed out that it is an earlier work than RM due to, among other things, a very important verse[1] mentioned in RM already quoted. This verse points to the earlier works of Kṣemendra which he wrote at the instance of Rāmayaśas. BHM can undoubtedly be taken as one of those works as is evident from the reference given above. Another reason may be given in support of RM as a later work than BHM as well. The poet who was first initiated into the Śaiva cult does not mention anything leading to his change of faith in RM. This change of faith was not an unimportant matter which did not require any explanation. In fact Kṣemendra had already spoken about it in BHM[2] and naturally thought of avoiding repetition

1. RM. p. 509, Verse 8.
2. Śrībhāgavatācārya Somapādābjareṇubhiḥ
   Dhanyatāṁ yaḥ paraṁ prāpto Nārāyaṇaparāyaṇaḥ.
   (BHM, p. 850, Verse 9).

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of the same in RM. Again, if RM was an earlier composition it would also have mentioned the poet's first teacher Abhinavagupta under whom he learnt Sāhitya as is found in BHM. The absence of these details in RM is very helpful in placing this work after BKM and BHM.

Coming to the internal evidence as found in RM, my contention finds a stronger testimony. A further improvement in the style of epitome writing is marked in RM as over that of BHM. The poet has become more selective and careful in choosing the ideas, incidents and points of descriptions for enumeration. A richer personality of the poet is revealed in these two works. As mentioned earlier, a full fledged account of the horse sacrifice performed by Daśaratha in order to beget sons is found in the Rāmāyaṇa. Kṣemendra does not think it befitting to give such details about the sacrifice and therefore reduces the whole description to one verse only :

Putrārthinaṁ kadācit taṁ cintāsaktamathābravīt
Aśvamedhakṛtodyogaṁ Sumantro mantriṇāṁ varaḥ[1].

In the Āśvamedhikaparva of BHM we find an account of the horse sacrifice performed by Yudhiṣṭhira. The account is not reduced by the poet into one verse but has been given in over fifty verses[2]. The story of Satyavān and Sāvitrī which is found in Araṇyaparva of the Mahābhārata is described by Kṣemendra in forty nine verses[3] and he has given every relevant detail of the story. He has tried to keep close similarity with the original. Here is the advice of Nārada to Dyumatsena, Sāvitrī's father :

Aho bata mahatpāpaṁ Sāvitryā nṛpate kṛtam
Ajānantyā yadanayā guṇavān Satyavānvṛtaḥ.
Vivasvāniva tejasvī Bṛhaspatisamo matau
Mahendra iva śūrśca vasudheva kṣamānvitaḥ.

1. RM, p. 4, Verse 45.
2. BHM, Āśvamedhikaparva, pp. 696-700, Verses 139-189.
3. Ibid, Araṇyaparva, pp. 296-300, Verses 1860-1908.

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Saṅkṛte Rantidevasya sa śaktyā dānataḥ samaḥ
Brahmaṇyaḥ satyavādī ca Śibirauśīnaro yathā.
Yayātiriva codāraḥ Somavatpriyadarśanaḥ
Rūpeṇānyatamoṣvibhyāṁ Dyumatsenasuto balī.
Sa dāntaḥ sa mṛduḥ śūraḥ sa satyaḥ sa jitendriyaḥ.
Sa maitraḥ sonasūyaśca sa hrīmāndhṛtimāñca saḥ.
Nityaśaścārjavaṁ tasminsthitistasyaiva ca dhruvā
Saṁkṣepatas tapovṛdhaiḥ śīlavṛddhaiśca kathyate.
Eko doṣosya nānyosti sodya prabhṛti Satyavān
Saṁvatsareṇa kṣīṇāyur dehanyāsaṁ kariṣyati[1].

The reproduction of the contents of the above verses in BHM is as follows :

Ityukte rājatanayāṁ gīrvāṇamunirabhyadhāt
Bhavyaḥ sa Satvavānnāma rājaputro guṇādhikaḥ.
Kalānāṁ kelisadanaṁ vidyānāṁ pāṇidarpaṇam
Bhavadbhyo rājaputrosau yuvā hṛdayanandanaḥ.
Ucitaste sa jāmātā kimanyadvaṁśabhūṣaṇam
Kintveṣa varṣaśeṣāyur iti me dūyate manaḥ[2].

The above examples show a particular method adopted by the poet in condensing BHM. Coming to RM Kṣemendra has changed the art of condensation. He has adopted the methodical and economic way of giving only those details which are helpful in the development of the principal story. His former vision has changed and the theme of the Rāmāyaṇa is presented in a new light. In the 18th canto of Sundarakāṇḍa, Vālmīki gives a graphic delineation of the women accompanying Rāvaṇa when he goes to see Sītā in the Aśokavāṭikā :

Aṅganāḥ śatamātraṁtu taṁ vrajantam anuvrajat
Mahendram iva Paulastyaṁ devagandharvayoṣitaḥ.
Dīpikāḥ kāñcanīḥ kāścit jagrahus tatra yoṣitaḥ
Bālavyajanahastāśca tālavṛntāni cāparāḥ.

1. Mahābhārata, Āraṇyakaparva, pp. 965-966, 11, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22.
2. BHM, Araṇyaparva, pp. 297-298, Verses 1872-1874.

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Kāñcanairapi bhṛṅgāraiḥ jahruḥ salilam agrataḥ
Maṇḍalāgrā vṛsīścaiva gṛhyānyāḥ pṛṣṭhato yayuḥ
Kācit ratnamayīṁ sthālīṁ pūrṇāṁ pānasya bhāminī
Dakṣiṇā dakṣiṇenaiva tadā jagrāha pāṇinā.
Rājahaṁsapratīkāśaṁ chatraṁ pūrṇaśaśiprabham
Sauvarṇadaṇḍamaparā gṛhītvā pṛṣṭhato yayau.
Nidrāmadaparītākṣyo Rāvaṇasyottamāḥ striyaḥ
Anujagmuḥ patiṁ vīraṁ ghanam vidyullatā iva.
Vyāviddhahārakeyūrāḥ samāmṛditavarṇakāḥ
Samāgalitakeśāntāḥ sasvedavadanāstathā.
Ghūrṇantyo madaśeṣeṇa nidrayā ca śubhānanāḥ
Svedakliṣṭāṅgakusumāḥ samālyākulamūrdhajāḥ.
Prayāntaṁ nairṭapatiṁ nāryo madiralocanāḥ
Bahumānācca priyā bhāryās tamanvayuḥ[1].

Kṣemendra reduces this to nearly one third because it does not help much in the development of the main theme :

Taṁ vilolakalakvāṇasakhelāhaṁsamālinaḥ
Anujagmuḥ priyatamā mahodadhimivādhvagāḥ.
Tāḥ hemadīpabhṛṅgāracchatravetrakarāḥ puraḥ
Tasyābabhurmerutaṭe jātā hemalatā iva.
Jayālokaya margoyam ete sevāsamāgatāḥ
Iti tasyākulālāpaḥ sasarpa strījanaḥ puraḥ[2].

Thus we find that the composition of RM is of a later date than BHM when Kṣemendra had attained enough experience in the art of epitome writing. The aim of the poet was not to weave the incidents and narrations with a slight change but to select the most important things for representations. In fact the training which he received by working at two master-pieces, *viz.*, Bṛhatkathā and the Mahābhārata, added to his power of precision and economy. The ornamentation which is abundant in the earlier two works has retrograded to a certain extent and the fear which a budding poet very often

1. Rāmāyaṇa, Sundarakāṇḍa, Canto 18, Verses 10-18.
2. RM, Sundarakāṇḍa, p. 249, Verses 192-194.

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apprehends from the critics has completely disappeared. An alertness of a high degree in incorporating the customs and traditions mentioned in the original, the poetic embellishments within a limit, the didactic conversations and nature descriptions—all these form integral parts of RM. The poet's style is difinitely improved and he can no more be accused of being prosaic, a fault which had set in the BhM.

Like his earlies epitome, the RM is also of paramount importance in textual criticism. A devoted faitafulness to the original marked in RM helps solve many a problem arising about the authenticity of the original text. A considerable proportion of interpolations which crept into the text of Vālmīki after Kṣemendra can be scrutinised with the help of RM. It may be remembered that the deposition of every interpolated piece cannot be valued by RM alone because it is very probable that certain portions might have been dropped by the poet due to their impropriety or some such reasons. The episodes and incidents mentioned by Kṣemendra definitely prove that they were part of the original text of his time and the incorporation of further details in the same portions would be taken as an interpolation.

Like the Rāmāyaṇa, RM is also divided into Kāṇḍas or chapters but the further division of these into Sargas or cantos is not done by Kṣemendra. The story spreaded over in the cantos is summed up in each Kāṇḍa. He has tried to keep the flow of the narrative unchanged and very rarely brings any change in it. Likewise, nowhere do we find any transposition of episodes. All this is due to his intention to keep up the original spirit of the epic. In trying to maintain this he has paraphrased some verses of the original and reproduced them with minor changes here and there :

Katham vālpśarīrastvam māmito netumicchasi.[1]

The same is put by Kṣemendra with a slight change as under :

1. Rāmāyaṇa, Canto 37, Verse 32.

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Katham nu muṣṭimātrastvamito mām netumarhasi.[1] The following verse of Vālmīki :

Na Rāvaṇasahasraṁ me yuddhe pratibalam bhavet.[2]

is produced by the poet as under :

Na Rāvaṇasaharsaṁ me samare gaṇanāspadam.[3]

It is of interest to note that the first verse of the Rāmāyaṇa uttered by Vālmiki as a curse in the Śloka metre is put by Kṣemendra in verbatim but for a change of one word :

Mā niṣāda pratiṣṭhāṁ tvamalabdhaḥ śāśvatīh samāḥ

Yat krauñcamithunādekamavadhīḥ kāmamohitam.

Kṣemendra prefers 'alabdhāḥ' in place of agamaḥ' found in the Rāmāyaṇa. While abridging the contents of the seven Kāṇḍas of the Rāmāyaṇa, the poet does not strictly follow the methods of Vālmīki in distributing the subject to each of them. Sometimes the topics are dealt with in other Kāṇḍas to which they originally do not belong. For example the Bālakāṇḍa is included in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa whereas there is no specific mention of this Kāṇḍa in Kṣemendra's work. Likewise the talk of Sītā and Anasūyā in the hermitage of Atri which serves as a finale to the Ayodhyākāṇḍa is narrated by Kṣemendra in the Araṇyakāṇḍa. The earlier descriptions of the Sundarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyana, viz., the seeing of Maināka and Surasā, the killing of Simhikā and bounding over the ocean by Hanumān have been described in the Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa of RM. The reason for this sort of division preferred by him can obviously be that the epic in his time was not rigidly divided. The division into Kāṇḍas found in the Rāmāyaṇa may have taken place at a later stage, after Kṣemendra. There appears to be no reason as to why Kṣemnedra should not have stuck to the division if it had been provided in the Rāmāyaṇa. The benedic-

1. RM, p. 262, Verse 355.
2. Rāmāyaṇa, Canto 43, Verse 10.
3. RM, p. 267, Verse 427.

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story verse[1] found at the beginning of Ayodhyākāṇḍ a is repeated in the Sundarakāṇḍa[2] and Uttarakāṇḍa[3]. No benedictory verse is found in the Sundarakāṇḍa and Uttarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa. The purpose of this may be that Kṣemendra wanted the climax of the story to proceed smoothly. Another reason which may be given is that, for the eulogy of Rāma who was to kill, and ultimately did kill Rāvaṇa, who was a terror to the three worlds, Kṣemendra has given a benedictory verse. No other change is brought forth in RM. His chief aim has been to follow the original in such manner that the prolonged conversations get the legitimate length, the episodes of importace find their due place and the spirit of the original is not marred by unnecessary stretching of the story. In maintaining these standards, though at times the vigour is lost and the character development is hindered, the epitomizing talents stand out more effectively and the abstract achieves success. The moral maxims on polity are treated with much careful exuberance and thus the quintessence is preserved with supreme delicacy.

(*F*) *Deśopadeśa* :

In RM we find many a simile where the things under description have been compared to the evils performed by the prostitutes. While describing the Aśokavanikā in the Sundarakāṇḍa, Kṣemendra gives the following description :

Babhāra puṣpamālāṁ sā *chinnāṁ vesyeva rāgiṇā*
kapisiṁhena nakharollekhitastabakastanī.
Tatra kecidadṛśyanta taravo hṛtavalkalāḥ
veśyābhirbhuktasarvasvā viṭā iva nirambarāḥ.[4]

On another occasion the prostitutes are mentioned in the

1. Jitaṁ Bhagavatā tena Hariṇā lokadhāriṇā
Ajena viśva rūpeṇa nirguṇena guṇatmanā.
(RM, Bālakāṇḍa, p. 1, Verse 1).
2. RM, Sundarakāṇḍa, p. 234, Verse 1.
3. Ibid, Uttarakaṇḍa, p. 407, Verse 1.
4. RM, Sundarakāṇḍa, p. 241, Verses 130, 132.

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Sundarakāṇḍa when Sītā advises Rāvaṇa that adversities fall upon a man who is won over by arrogance and illusion and who is shameless and who has not controlled his senses like the prostitutes upon a king who is stupid :

Vijitaṁ darpamohābhyāṁ nirlajjamajitendriyam
Vipadaḥ svayamāyānti *veśyā mugdhamiveśvaram.*[1]

In Yuddhakāṇḍa Śrī or wealth has been compared to a prostitute who goes to many persons[2]. A prostitute's disaffectionate activities have been compared to that of fate bringing reverses[3]. The citations show that the growing snares of the prostitutes in the poet's time were spoiling the morals of the public and therefore were being actually ridiculed by Kṣemendra. Kṣemendra's attitude of a reformist inspired him to write works like Deśopadśa, Narmamālā, Sevyasevakopadeśa, Kalāvilāsa, Darpadalana, Cārucaryāśataka, Caturvargasaṅgraha and Samayamātṛkā immediately after RM. These works must have followed one after the other. The moralist outlook of Kṣemendra is best seen in these compositions. Amongst these Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā stand earlier in comparison to other works because their language is not so chiselled and polished as of other works.

DU, which is divided into eight Upadeśas or teachings, presents the vicious customs and opprobrious characters of his time in true colours. The work is very useful as it brings out the degraded social pattern into lime-light. The ignoble characters of the society are Khala or recreant villain, Kadarya or miser, prostitute, Kuṭṭanī or bawd, Viṭa or pretentious voluptuary, and Gauḍa students studying in the Maṭha. These form the description in the first six Upadeśas.

1. RM, Sundarakāṇḍa, p. 252, Verses 235.
2. Iyaṁ Śrīrniranukrośā veśyeva bahugāminī.
(RM, Yuddhakāṇḍa, p. 292, Verse 34).
3. Aho veśyeva niḥsnehā vak ā durjanadhīriva
Sarvathā khalamaitrīva durantā vedhasogatiḥ.
(RM. Yuddhakāṇḍa, p. 332, Verse 533).

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The last two ridicule an old man marrying a young girl, and thus becoming a target of sarcasm in the society ; and various kinds of people like the poet beating after his peccant poetry ; the knave in the form of a teacher ; the charlatan ; the corrupt bride : the vicious priest ; the turbid and deceitful grocer ; the beggarly gambler ; the hypocrite pupil ; the imposing player of the lute ignorant of the method playing on it ; the insidious physician ; the fraudulent scribe ; the chicaning Śaiva mendicant and the incestuous widow. Kṣmendra's chief aim in writing this work has been to distract the people from the path of vices. Usually, didactic works full of moral teachings become cumbersome and insipid and rarely serve their real purpose. But Kṣemendra adopts an altogether different style for his objective. In his opinion only the satirical style can bring fruitful results. A man can be whipped off his vices by the gentle cudgel of a poet's wit and humour and these are weapons Kṣemendra uses in DU :

Hāsena lajjitotyantaṁ na doṣeṣu pravartate
Janastadupakārāya mamāyaṁ svayamudyamaḥ[1].

His aim is not merely to find faults with others but by good humour to bring people back from the immoral and degraded path.. His object is not to indulge in mere buffoonery either but to educate the people in a serious way :

Ityuddeśanidarśanena vividhaṁ yatkiñciduktaṁ mayā
tatsarvaṁ smitakāraṇaṁ sahṛdayāḥ śṛṇvantu santaḥkṣaṇam.
Kṣemendraḥ praṇatim karoti na paṭurlokopahāseśvalaṁ
kintveṣa vyapadeśataḥ pratipadaṁ Deśopadeśaḥ kṛtaḥ[2].

Truly speaking, the humorous style does more wonders than mere libels or lampoons and the success attained by Kṣemendra in this field is commendable. The Gauḍa student who comes from a distant place to Kāśmīra and twiddles his thumbs, loitering on the streets of Śrīnagara has not escaped the eye of Kṣemendra. The scandalous activities in which this

1. DU, p. 1, Verse 4.
2. Ibid, p. 32, Verse 52.

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student indulges are shown to be really demoralising the society as well. His craze for women, particularly prostitutes, his deceiving the grocer and use of abusive language in every work are all derided by Kṣmendra. Even the physician is not spared by such a student who has deviated himself from the path of virtue :

Kupitaṁ kapimāliṅgya kaṇṭhe baddhvā mahorgam
Gauḍaṁ cāturmāsādya vaidyasya kuśalaṁ kutaḥ[1].

In delineating the bad elements and customs of the society at times the language leaves the path of decorum specially in the seventh Upadeśa where he shows how adultery crops up when an old man marries a young maiden and is not able to satisfy her due to his infirmities and old age :

Viratasuratasaktiḥ sparśamātraikabhaktir
niśi niśitavacobhirbhartsyamāno gṛhiṇyā.
Bhujabhujaganibaddhaṁ svakṣaye vṛddhayakṣaḥ
subhagabhaganidhānaṁ rakṣati nyastahastaḥ[2].

This and other such descriptions may hint bad taste but the poet cannot be blamed because he definitely desired the account to be forceful and effective. With this practical intention in his mind Kṣmendra has also used some of the colloquial Kasmirian words which serve a very relevant purpose.

(*G*) *Narmamālā* :

An equally important work is Narmamālā written about the same time when DU was composed. Kāyasthas, a sect of court clerks, were committing atrocities during the 8th century when Soḍḍhala wrote Udayanasundarīkathā. They have been fully exposed by Soḍḍhala in this work. But, even after him, there was no change in their attitude and during Kṣmendra's time they were continuing their sinister practices. By NM, Kṣemendra wants his contemporaries to beware of these de-

1. DU, p. 20, Verse 43.
2. Ibid. p. 23, Verse 31.

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moralised and iniquitous elements. Admnistration by the Kāyastha cabinet has been condemned by him and regarded scandalous. These pilferers of the society continued to dominate the scene during the regime of King Ananta's predecessors and even in his own time. King Ananta eradicated them by ordering their dismissal and rigorous imprisonment and thus restored social justice and equity in the state. Kṣemendra has complimented him for their annihilation[1].

The chief aim of Kṣemendra in writing NM is social reform which was very much needed. He appeals to the people to revolt against the infernal deeds done by these officials who manipulated to hold high ranks in state service. At the instance of a bon vivant he endeavoured to write the character of the Kāyasthas and adopted the satirical style for the purpose and has sketched their picture fully providing recreation to the good and learned[2].

NM beings with the mythological account of the birth of the Kāyastha. He is the incarnation of the bursar of the demons. Kṣemendra has used a special term for him and that is 'Divira'. The term has been explained as 'Divi roditi iti' which means that he began to lament in the sky due to the killing of the Daityas, his masters, and as he wept in the sky he is known as 'Divira' on the earth :

Daityakṣaye kṛte yasmādbhavatā divi roditam
Tasmāttvaṁ Diviro nāma bhuvi khyāto bhaviṣyasi[3].

1. Yasminprājyabhujastambhastambhitāhitavikramaḥ
Trivikrama iva Śrīmānananto balijinnṛpaḥ.
Tenaprajopasargeṣu vāriteṣu vivekinā
Durniyogiṣu sarveṣu nīteṣu smṛtiśeṣatām.
(NM. p. 1, Verses 3, 4).

2. Vidagdhacūḍāmaṇinā kenacitkeliśālinā
Vidvadgoṣṭhīgariṣṭena kaścitsahṛdayo janaḥ.
Hāsāyātītakāyasthacaritaṁ kartumīritaḥ
Karoti tatprasaṅgena durācāraviḍambanām.
(NM, p. 1, Verses 5 and 6).

3. NM, p. 2, Verse 15. The word 'Divira' is a sanskritized form of the Persian word Dabīr.

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This bursar of the Daityas was pitied by Kali when he started penancing at the bank of Vaitaraṇī and was told to go to the earth for destroying the gods. He is also given a pen as the weapon to use against the Brāhmaṇas. He is further enjoined to torture the Brāhmaṇas so that they may not perform sacrifices and thus the gods be killed indirectly[1]. Thus equipped, he took birth to devastate the temples and to reduce the supply of salt and fodder for the cows. A caricature has been drawn of his life and spirit and his highest ambition has been shown to be seated on the post of Gṛhakṛtyādhipati or Gṛhakṛtyamahattama.[2] This born hypocrite poses to be a devoted Bhakta or worshipper of Lord Śiva and even when standing before the God he meditates upon the atrocities he should further commit. He keeps a retinue of under officers such as Paripālaka or a governor of a province, Lekhopādhyāya or the chief clerk, Gañjadivira or the treasurer, Niyogi or the record keeper of the villagers with magisterial powers to decide civil and criminal cases and Grāmadivira or 'paṭvārī'. These officers will be no other than Kāyasthas. Kṣemendra further gives the description of his baggage as he tours a village. Many are the things which he extracts from the villagers and dispatches home. Thus is presented the public life of the Kāyastha in the first Parihāsa.

The second Parihāsa depicts the private life the Kāyastha

1. Gatvā Vaitaraṇītīraṁ tapo varṣasahasrakaṁ
Svamūtraculakāhāraḥ suravairāccakāra saḥ.
Tuṣṭastametya varadaḥ Kaliḥ sākṣādabhāṣata
Sarvadevavināśāya gaccha vatsa mahītalam.
Anena kalamāstreṇa maddattena prahāriṇā
Vicchinnadīpakusumāndhūpahīnānnirambarān.
Bhraṣṭālāyāndhūlilіptānhāhābhūtān śvabhirvṛtān
Kariṣyasi surānsarvānbhaktapānīyakāṅkṣiṇaḥ.
(NM, p 2, Verses 10-13).

2. Probably the Head of the Home Dapartment and Controller of both Civil and Military Offices and also of the department of Charitable Funds.

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and his wife. The utter lack of morals is the tragic theme. His seductive wife adopts her own course of corruption. In this Parihāsa the behaviour of the physicians, astrologers, 'oyāgas' and the *guru* is also described which is equally devastating for the Kāyastha. The chapter concludes with the mention of Āsthāna Diviras or the court clerks and Adhikaraṇabhaṭṭas.

The third Parihāsa begins with the description of Gurubhaṭṭas during the festivals at Kāyastha's place and ends with the tragic end of the Kāyastha who is arrested and imprisoned. His sister-prostitute comes to help and he is released but he further faces adversities of fate cropping in with the confiscation of his property and finally taking away his life. The prostitute has also been described here with bitter irony and scathing sarcasm.

NM, through written in a humorous way to make the truth exact and forcible, incorporates the transgressions of decency. In the third Parihāsa, the description of a widow arouses a feeling of repulsion indeed. Likewise, the description of the physician, the astrologer and the Śaiva teacher in the second Parihāsa is also strong and derogatory in character and is revoltingly critical of the vicious. The interests of the society were to be safeguarded and moral alertness was to be infused in the public and this urgency led Kṣemendra to offer his services by declaring these voluptuaries as social evils corrupting the public morals. For this purpose he chose to abuse them on their faces and he did it sometimes even at the cost of decency. If Kṣemendra was mindful of maintaining conventional decency rigidly, he would have left his mission unfulfilled. He had to choose between conventional code of decency in presentation and an impassioned faith in social reform to which he gave priority.

(*H*) *Sevyasevakopadeśa* :

The strained and nasty relations between the masters and

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the servants during the time of Kṣemendra provided another subject of concsrn for him and added to his list of works of homilectic kind in the framework of 'Sevyasevako padeśa'. The imprints on his mind of the Mahābhārata were also not yet attenuated. The concerete examples in the Mahābhārata were Karṇa and Bhīṣma who had to serve Duryodoana even though he did not deserve their service. Nourished by these two possible reasons, Kṣemendra's ideas found expression through this diatribe of the uninspring relations of the master and the servant. The date of this work can be established along with other didactic works written after BhM. The nature and the style of the work support this assertion. The influence of Kāśmīra Śaivism on this work is another guiding factor in fixing its date[1]. Kṣemendra's art of writing was not very much developed when he wrote SU, and therefore, we do not find novel ideas while dealing with the subject. Kṣemendra's observation of this worldly affair is undoubtedly keen but he could not make it very lively.

Exposing the relations of the master and the servant, Kṣemendra bitterly deprecates servitude. A man's whole individuality and self respect is lost while serving a master. He has to bear humiliation at the hands of his master. In fact the master and the servant both remain blind by greed and egotism and are shameless. Overcast by irrepressible Moha and greed the servant endures his master's frowns of anger. To earn his bread he has to uhdergo all the maltreatment at the hands of his master and has to submit to the insults. The poet's conclusion is that self-contentment is the only wealth the absence of which compels a man to serve even a caṇḍāla[2].

1. SU, pp, 84-85, Verses 55, 57, 58 and 59.
   These verses show a marked influence of Kāśmīra Śaivism and the the same has been discussed at length in Chapter V.

2. Niḥsantoṣaḥ parityajya bramaraḥ puspitaṁ vanam
   Sevate dānalobhena mātaṅgamapi sevakaḥ.
   (SU, p. 80, Verse 17).

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Due to his malingering tricks he, though engaged in dancing attendance on his master, is not able to gain anything. The servitude, which is devoid contentment and full of greed, brings dishonour to the gods as well. If the throes of hunger and greed disappear then the insult through service is rendered meaningless. In Kṣemendra's views Rāhu alone is free from servility because he is free from the desire of enjoyment and hunger :

Ekasya jāne sukhabhogabhājaḥ ślāghyasya sevāvyasanam nivṛttam

Sadaiva śiśnodaravarjitatvādayācyayāñcārahitasya Rāhoḥ[1].

A servant moves hither and thither without any work only for fear for his master. He intrudes in untimely hours and irritates the master. He pokes his nose in the talks and makes himself a nuisance. The master and the servant are both self-indulgent. The former does not want to see the latter because of his being mean and favour-seeking. The master is like the God of Death because he punishes his servant severely even for a little mistake. There is no difference between a cruel master and a grave-yard ghoul. In this way Kṣemendra satirizes the relations of the master and the servant and advises the latter to break the bondages of desires, exist in profound meditation and search the inner light by which salvation can be attained[2].

The diatribe designed by Kṣemendra is more an exposition of the servant's folly than that of the master. More than three fourth of the verses of SU relate to the ways of the servant. They not only expose him in true colours but also depict his peculiar plight. The poet does not advise the masters to desist from the atrocities they commit on their servants ; on

1. SU, p. 82, Verse 37.
2. Utsṛjya prājyasevāṁ vijanasukhajuṣāṁ bhūbhujāṁ vyājabhājāṁ chittvāśāpāśabandhānvimalaśamajalaistīvratarṣṇām.
Sthitvā śuddhe samādhau kimaparamamṛtaṁ mṛgyatāṁ jyotirantaryasmindṛṣṭe vinaṣṭotkaṭatimirabhare labhyate mokṣalakṣmīḥ.
(SU, p. 85, Verse 59).

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the contrary, the servants are exhorted to keep away from the service of an unworthy master. In his opinion servility butchers a man's self respect and personality and brings him to suffer social injustice. Kṣemendra as a social reformer could not stand this inhuman act, and therefore, told what he felt about servitude. Bhandare observes that SU is "vindication of service rendered to a worthy master" and thus tries to give autobiographical colour to this work[1]. I do not think there is any basis in SU to support such an opinion. The last verse of SU says that the author Kṣemendra, always ready to honour the learned, and being possessed of the pleasure of the pursuit of self-contentment, composed this 'Sevāvasara' for the bliss of the wise[2]. This explains that Kṣemendra served no master but served only self-contentment and derived pleasure through it. It seems that Bhandare interpreted this verse in his own way and understood the meaning of 'saṁtoṣasevārasanirbhareṇa' as 'possessed of the pleasure of contentment and servitude' and therefore inferred that the poet has vindicated the service done to a worthy master. This sort of interpretation appears to be uncalled for because Kṣemendra does not approve of servitude at all. As pointed out earlier, he advises the servant to have self-contentment, renounce the world and engage in abstract meditation, the only way to salvation. Worthiness of the master has not been discussed by him. His opinion about the masters is very clear when he says :

Dvāre ruddhamupekṣate kathamapi prāptaṁ puro nekṣate
vijñaptau gajamīlanāni kurute gṛhṇāti vākyacchalam.
Niryātasya karoti doṣagaṇanāṁ svalpāparādhe Yamaḥ
sa svāmī yadi sevyate marutaṭe kiṁ na piśācaiḥ kṛtam.[3]

With his firm opinion about masters and sufficiently exposing

1. 'Bhāratamañjarī, Araṇyaparva'.
2. Vidvajjanārādhanataṭpareṇa saṁtoṣasevārasanirbhareṇa
Kṣemendranāmnā sudhiyāṁ sadaiva sukhāya Sevāvasaraḥ kṛtoyam.
(SU, p. 85, Verse 61).
3. SU, p. 84, Verse 54.

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the deeds done by servants Kṣemendra has throughout deprecated servility and has emphasized that people should refrain from servitude and cultivate self-contentment which is the only bliss. A poet desirous of intermixing the autobiographical account would have certainly mentioned how service done to a worthy master is appreciated instead of criticizing it. The absence of such things prove Bhandare's comment to be a mere conjecture.

(I) *Kalāvilāsa* :

Kalāvilāsa, a work written in ten cantos, is again full of criticism. Here, Kṣemendra has improved upon his mode of satire and has tried to remove the occasional coarseness found in his earlier satirico-comic works and has shown high sense of humour not found in his earlier writings. This is one of the best works of Kṣemendra. The literary qualities of the poet have been displayed properly and the treatment of the subject matter is enchanting. The freeflowing and elegant style used by the poet has made the delineation delightful and the satire subtle. The period of this composition can be fixed sometime after DU and NM because an improvement is seen in the quality of satire and a few other topics already dealt with in these two works.

The first canto begins with a beautiful description of the city Viśāla. The stream of lustre effusing out from gems studded in the walls of its palaces appears as if lifting the night's garment of darkness and acts as an obtrusion to Abhisārikās. Here cupid, who had turned to a moth in the flames of the fire of Śiva's third eye, lives on by the lustre of moon-faced ladies which acts as nectar to him.[1] In this city lived

1. Vighnobhisārikāṇāṁ bhavanagaṇasphāṭikaprabhānikaraḥ
Yatra virājati rajanītimirapaṭaprakaṭaluṇṭhākaḥ.
Yatra Trinayananayanajvālāvalīśalabhavṛttiḥ.
Jīvati mānasajanmā śaśivadanāvadanakāntipīyūṣaiḥ.
(KV, p. 35, Verses 3 and 5).

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the legendary Mūladeva[1], a great master of trickeries and well adept in the art of roguery. He is looked upon as an expert professor of these arts and is approached by one Sārthavāha or merchant Hiraṇyagupta and is requested to guide the latter's young son Candragupta who had fallen a prey to the cheats and harlots. Mūladeva accepts Candragupta as his pupil and tells him about the arts employed by ignominious persons and the ways by which they deceive simple minds. They include the cheats, quacks, harlots, merchants, goldsmiths, musicians, dancers, stage actors, beggars, mendicants and various other swindlers. Describing the different designs of deceiving he divides Dambha or arrogance in three kinds—Baka dambha, Kūrma dambha and Mārjāra dambha, which is practised by all beings, animate and inanimate. The father of dambha is 'lobha' or greed which is very old, its mother is Māyā and Kūṭa is its brother. Its wife is Kuṭilākṛti and Huṅkāra is the son.[2] After creating the world and its beings, the Creator sat worried for a long time as he had finished the creation. By his divine eye he saw that the helpless people were not getting the riches and other pleasures in the world because they were

1. Mūladeva was a man who was well adept in various arts. He has been named variously as Karṇīsuta, Kalāṅkura, and Mūlabhadra. In the Vāsavadattā of Subandhu he has been mentioned during the Svayaṁvara of Vāsavadattā :
"Tatra ca kecitkalāṅkurā iva vijitanagaramaṇḍanāḥ".
In the commentary of Vāsavadattā is found :
"Kalāṅkurā iva Mūladevā iva".
In the Hārāvalī, Mūladeva is mentioned as :
"Karṇīsuto Mūladevo Mūlabhadraḥ Kalāṅkuraḥ."
The Kādambarī of Bāṇabhaṭṭa refers Mūladeva as :
"Karṇīsuta katheva saṁnihitavipulācalā."
The BKM of Kṣemendra mentions him in the tenth Lambaka. In the Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva, Mūladeva is described to belong to the Court of Vikramāditya.

2. Lobhaḥpitātivṛddho jananī māyā sahodaraḥ kūṭaḥ
Kuṭilākṛtiśca gṛhiṇī putro dambhasya huṅkāraḥ.
(KV, p. 40, Canto I, Verse 64).

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very simple. Closing his eyes for a while, he stood up and then created in this illusory universe 'Dambha', the supporter of creation for the happiness of the people. Even in Brahmaloka it entered and harboured in the Seven Sages and also in Agastya, Vasiṣṭha, Kautsa, Viśvāmitra and Gālava and then stood gloating at the Lotus Seat of Brahmā who asked it to sit on his lap. It sprinkled the water even on Brahmā's lap in order to clean it and then sat on it. It told Brahmā not to talk loudly and if talking was at all essential he should cover his mouth with his hand so that his breath may not touch it. On seeing its unparalleled sense of cleanliness Brahmā named its as Dambha and then desired it to go to the earth and enjoy the pleasures. Thus it came to the earth and installed its victory flag in the Gauḍa country and then started its tour in different directions.[1] Kṣemendra writes that Dambha resides at various places. In certain persons it resides in their faces while in others in their hearts. No one is left by it, not even the birds and trees :

Aṁśaiḥ praviśya hṛdayaṁ vividhovikāraiḥ samastajantūnām
Dambho viveśa paścādantaramiha pakṣivṛkṣāṇām.[2]

Kṣemendra's satire on Dambha is extremely acute when he says that Hari or Viṣṇu taken over by Vāmana dambha scaled the three worlds :

Dambhavikāraḥ purato vañcakacakrasya kalpavṛkṣoyam
Vāmanadambhena purā Hariṇā trailokyamākrāntam.[3]

1. Bhagavānpurā Svayaṁbhūḥ kṛtvā bhuvanāni bhūtasargaṁ ca
Viratavyāpāratayā suciraṁ cintānvitastasthau.
Dṛṣṭvā sa martyaloke divyadṛśā mānuṣānnirālambān
Ārjavayogaviśeṣādaprāptadhanādisaṁbhogān.
Mīlitanayanaḥ kṣipraṁ sthitvā māyāmaye samādhāne
Asṛjannṛṇāṁ vibhūtyai dambhaṁ sambhāvanādhāram.
(KV, p. 40, Canto I, Verses 65-67).

Noccairvācyamavaśyaṁ yadi vācyaṁ hastapadmena
Ācchādya vaktrarandhraṁ spṛṣṭo na syāṁ yathāsyavātāṁśaiḥ.
(KV, p. 41, Canto I, Verse 82).

2. KV, p. 42, Canto I, Verse 92.
3. Ibid, p. 43, Canto I, Verse 96.

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Lobha or greed forms the subject matter of the second canto. This had already found treatment at the hands of Kṣemendra in DU. It is said about greed that it resides in the deceitful hearts of the merchants. Though by various tactics they extract the money of their customers yet they do not wish to part with it to meet the expenses in their own homes. The trader, whose heart is the real abode of greed, listens to the stories and canons of righteousness but keeps away from charity. By deceitful means he pledges the things of the people, gives them nominal money and at the time of returning the pledge refuses to recognize them. When the matter is brought before the king he resorts to blatant falsehood and says that he had given nothing as security. Kṣemendra illustrates this exposition of greed by an amusing tale of Śukra and Vaiśravaṇa. Kubera was extremely greedy and therefore, refused to give anothing to Śukra when he approached the former for money. Śukra entered the body of Vaiśravaṇa by his Māyā and made him give away all his wealth to the Brāhmaṇas. When all was exhausted he left Kubera who was very much grieved when he learnt that Māyā was deployed by Śukra. He went to Lord Śiva to complain against Śukra. The complaint having been heard, Lord Śiva ordained Śukra to return the wealth of Vaiśravaṇa. Śukra who was now taken by greed, refused to return the wealth and therefore he was swallowed up by Śiva. Even then he did not agree to return the wealth. He started reciting the Stotra of the Goddess Pārvatī and ultimately was released by Śiva through Pārvatī's efforts. Kṣemendra concludes that greedy persons like Śukra will bear the intensity of any throes but will not give up their wealth :

Evaṁ svabhāvalubdhāstīvratarāṁ yātanāmapi sahante
Na tu saṁtyajanti vittaṁ kauṭilyamivādhamaḥ sahajam.[1]

The third canto describes the concupiscent élan and the chicanery played by women. Those who are love-lorn meet

1. KV, p. 49, Canto II, Verse 88.

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a very miserable plight. They are deceived by women. The Māyā employed by women remains ununderstandable to even those who know the Māyā of Śambara and Vicitti[1]. A story of Vasumatī, a merchant's daughter and her husband Samudradatta is given to show the treacherous behaviour of a woman towards her husband.

The harlots are chid in the fourth canto. Their arts of deception are as many as sixty-four. These are enumerated here and a story of King Vikramasiṁha and Vilāsavatī is given to support that the harlots behave in the following manner :

Prathamasamāgamasukhadā madhye vyasanapravāsa
kāriṇyaḥ
Paryante duḥkhaphalāḥ puṁsāmāśāśca veśyāśca[2].

The Kāyasthas and their wickedness is depicted in the fifth canto. The Kāyastha is said to possess sixteen arts of perfidiousness and they are applied for the sole purpose of obtaining wealth. A meaningful story is related to establish that a Kāyastha does not leave his crooked art of deceiving even though obliterated to the bones :

Ityevaṁ kuṭilakalāṁ sahajām malināṁ janakṣaye niratām
Yamadaṁṣṭrāmiva muñcati Kāyastho nāsthiśeṣopi[3].

The sixth canto is devoted entirely to describe Mada or pride which is said to reside in the hearts of all. This subject is widely dealt with in his other poem Darpadalana. Mada has been divided here into fourteen kinds—Śaurya mada, Rūpa mada, Śṛṅgāra mada, Kula mada, Vibhava mada. Mūḍha mada, Tapasvī mada, Bhakti mada, Śruta mada, Adhikāra mada,

1. Śambara and Vicitti were two demons who were very well adept in the employment of Māyā :
Saṁsāracitramāyāṁ Śambaramāyāṁ Vicittimāyāṁ ca
Yo jānāti jitātmā sopi na jānāti yoṣitāṁ māyām.
(KV, p. 50, Canto III, Verse 7).
2. KV, p. 57, Canto IV, Verse 23.
3. Ibid, p. 62. Canto V, Verse 44.

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Śauca mada, Vara mada, Pāna mada and Madya mada. The division is not very well devised yet the delineation of every one of these is remarkable. One affected by Madya mada loses the power of discernment. He is ungrieved even when his wife is kissed by somebody else, his self-respect vanishes and thus he turns to be a recluse who has renounced worldly attachments. What a picture is drawn by Kṣemendra ! He relates a story of the sage Cyavāna who had created this 'mada' and left it in gambling, women, drinking and hunting. Since then it resides in the muteness of those who are puffed up by wealth, in the fixed eyes of those whose wealth has increased, in the twist of the brows and faces of the rogues, on the tip of the tongues of intelligent spies, in the teeth, clothes and hair of handsome persons, on the lips of the physicians, in the necks of witch doctors, supervisors of villages, i.e., Niyogī, and accountants, on the shoulders of good warriors, in the hearts of merchants, in the hands of architects, in the twisting of fingers on the necks of students, in the breasts of the maidens, in the temples of the elephants, in the tails of peacocks and in the gait of the swans,[1] which form the subject of Kṣemendra's special inventive. The seats of mada vary in different beings, it destroys their virtues and they commit numberless follies.

With sufficient wit Kṣemendra depicts the wandering singers, actors, dancers and bards in the seventh canto. A legendary origin of music has also been given here. Once Indra asked Nārada the ways of the kings on the earth. Nārada informed that the kings were engaged in charity and for the attainment of religious merits, they performed several sacrifices and in a way rivaled him, Varuṇa and Kubera by their riches. Even his name Śatamakha (performer of hundred sacrifices) was sneered by them as they themselves performed several sacrifices. Indra was very much annoyed upon hearing this information and sent goblins to snatch away their wealth. They came to the earth and by the deceit employed through

1. KV, p. 65, Canto VII, Verses 29-32.

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singing, ravished the kings of their wealth. Though this delineation may prove to be a legendary one yet it truthfully paints the then degraded conditions of the musicians and others.

The eighth canto is devoted to denounce the special tricks of the goldsmiths for swindling gold. It seems that the poet watched with wonderful penetration all their devices of stealing gold. Kṣemendra depicts them as possessing sixty-four arts of diddling. These arts comprise themselves in the weighing stones (Tulopala), simulation (Mūṣā), balance (Tulā), blowing (Phūtkāra), fire (Vahni), movements (Ceṣṭā) and such other tricks. The description is very revealing and shows Kṣemendra's passion for eradicating this antisocial activity. He further mentions that the greatest art of the goldsmith is to bolt away with the gold of the customers during the night[1]. A story is also related depicting the birth of the goldsmiths. Once the mice, who were the demons killed in the battle by the gods, bored through the Meru mountain, minced it and crumbled its various parts into dust. The sage Agastya advised the gods to kill them who were the demons born in the guise of mice. Thus, the mice were killed and were born as goldsmiths in the world.

The ninth canto gives various forms of knavery by which the physicians, physicians turned astrologers, the sellers of herbs, drugs and some patent medicines and other scoundrels of the same category deceive the people.

In the tenth canto Kṣemendra concludes all this criticism and tells what the real path of glory should be. His chief aim is to divert the wicked to the path of virtue. He mentions sixty-four virtuous arts with the object that people by following them would be able to lead a pious life as is clear from the following verse :

1. Ekaiva kalā mahatī niśi gamanam sarvamādāya.
(KV, p. 69, Canto VIII, Verse 18).

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Etā vañcakamāyā vijñeyā na tu punaḥ svayaṁ sevyāḥ.
Dharmyaḥ kalākalāpo viduṣāmayamīpsito bhūtyai[1].

The parallel pictures are painted by him on the subject of villainous and meritorious deeds and the latter is recommended. Mūladeva closes in this canto his discourse with his disciples especially with the merchant's son Candragupta. KV is another of Kṣemendra's attempts to guide the society in the blissful course after DU and it is more delectable and ethical in nature and unlike DU his squibbing attitude here is domineering. His wishes have been amply fulfilled[2].

(*J*) *Darpadalana* :

Another didactic and satirical work of Kṣemendra is Darpadalana. It is divided into seven 'Vicāras' or chapters containing different thoughts of the poet about the pride dwelling in human beings. The subject which was touched in sixth canto of KV receives here an elaborate treatement with exemplary tales envisaged for emphasizing its purpose. The work was written after KV as the subject matter had already received the attention of the poet and could not be described at length there. Out of the fourteen type of pride mentioned in KV, only seven namely Kula mada (pride of birth), Dhana mada (pride of wealth), Vidyā mada (pride of learning), Rūpa mada (pride of beauty), Śaurya mada (pride of valour), Dāna mada (pride of charity) and Tapa mada (pride of asceticism) have been dealt with here[3]. Beautiful maxims have been interlaced abundantly because they are more effective. To

1. KV, p. 76, Canto X, Verse 1.
2. Kelīmayaḥ smitavilāsakalābhirāmaḥ
sarvāśrayāntarakalāprakaṭapradīpaḥ.
Lokopadeśavaśayaḥ sukathāvicitro
bhūyātsatāṁ dayita eṣa Kalāvilāsaḥ.
(K V, p. 79. Canto X, Verse 42).
3. Kulaṁ vittaṁ śrutaṁ rūpaṁ śauryaṁ dānaṁ tapastathā
Prādhānyena manuṣyāṇāṁ saptaite madahetavaḥ.
(DD, p. 66, Vicāra I, Verse 4).

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stimulate and enliven the interst of the readers, an interesting and attractive story is annexed illustrating the fall of every pride. Kṣemendra's object in writing this poem is to guide the people to follow the moralistic standard of life and behave with decency. Unlike his preceding work, the satires here hit the vanities of the people very effectively. His attack in the first Vicāra on the pride of birth is not meant to ridicule it as such. He thinks that there is a limit to this pride and when it crosses its bounds it definitely deserves contempt. Kṣemendra does not mean that a man should have no self-respect or loyalty and reverence for the clan to which he belongs. Self-respect is never bad in its purest form. But, owing to human frailty this self-respect is misconceived and thus vanity clouds over. One is taken by pride and begins to look down upon others. This is the evil and the poet says that this should be uprooted for one cannot be sure about the purity of one's birth as the feminine character is always doubtful[1]. His argument is very logical when he puts the question—what is the Platonic test for high birth when one of the ancestors was a man of character and other perhaps a cucko'd ? The kings Dilīpa, Raghu, Rāma, etc., were born in the Sūrya family wherein was born Triśaṅku who turned a caṇḍāla, Budha an ancestor of the kings of Somavaṁśa was begotten on his preceptor's wife by Candra. Likewise, Karṇa was born of a virgin and Pāṇḍavas were Kṣetrajas (begotten by the seed of others). The story of a Brāhmaṇa named Śrutanidhi is further given to show that 'pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall'.

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay".

1. Mūlānveṣaṇacintyamānamaniśaṁ nāstyeva puṁsāṁ kulaṁ
strīṇāṁ yatra paramparaiva tanute santānatantukramam.
Etāsāṁ kṛtakaprapañcaracanālajjāvatīnāṁ puraḥ
saṁsaktasmararūḍhagūḍhacaritaṁ tattvena jānāti kaḥ.
(DD, p. 67, Vicāra I. Verse 15).

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—says Oliver Goldsmith in his work 'The Deserted Village' and this truth is revealed by Kṣemendra in the second Vicāra where he drags the pride of wealth through the mire. Peace of mind is lost by rising riches as they are short-lived like the ripples of water. A man falls prey to greed when he stumbles into the clutches of increasing wealth. Greed brings miserliness and makes a man mad. He does not want to spend a penny for himself or for others and refrains from charity. What a caricature is drawn of this pride of wealth by Kṣemendra when he says :

Aśāntāntastṛṣṇā dhanalavṇavārivyatikarai-
rgatacchāyaḥ kāyściravirasarūkṣāśanatayā.
Anidrā mandognirnṛpasalilacaurānalabhayāt
kadaryāṇāṁ kaṣṭaṁ sphuṭamadhanakaṣṭādapi param[1].

The ruin that is brought by this pride is instanced by a story of Chandana's father whose life was ruined by the pride of wealth and even in his next birth he had to live the life of a caṇḍāla due to the sins of his previous life. The birth story of Candana's father as a caṇḍāla is narrated by 'Jina' which is homogeneous with the stories found in the Avadānas.

The third Vicāra takes up the evils of the pride of learning. Good learning always keeps away from 'mada'. It brings humility, stimulates religious fervour, kills jealousy, never indulges in unnecessary discussions and above all slays pride. But, when it breeds pride, affability disappears, it is adulterated by jealousy and departs with one's life. Emphasizing these points Kṣemendra gives a story of the sages Raibhya and Bharadvāja and their sons. Sarvāvasu were the sons of Raibhya. They had attained sufficient learning. Yavakrīta who was the son of Bharadvāja did not learn anything. Being jealous of the wisdom of Raibhya's sons he attained through Indra's favour the knowledge of all subjects. This made him proud of his education. He indulged in discussion with

1. DD, p. 74, Vicāra II, Verse 10.

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Raibhya's sons who cursed him with a short life. Even then he did not deviate from the path of pride. He again went to their hermitage when they had gone for a bath. There he tried to molest the wife of Parāvasu and was burnt to ashes by Raibhya. Raibhya was also in turn cursed by Bharadvāja and was killed by his own son Parāvasu. Bharadvāja unable to bear the grief of his son's death entered into the fire. Parāvasu tried to impose the guilt of his father's murder on his brother Arvāvasu. The gods seeing Arvāvasu undisturbed, offered him a boon; he asked for the regaining of the lives of Yavakrīta, Bharadvāja and Raibhya. By this story, Kṣemendra establishes that learning should be free from vanity. A beautiful description has been given here depicting the fate of the quacks in the field of learning.

Beauty is transitory and therefore one should not be high-minded about it[1]. This truth is illustrated in the fourth Vicāra by the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī who were attracted towards each other by their beauty. Aśvinau being curious to know the real worth of beauty went to see Purūravas and observed that it declined every moment. Kṣemendra conveys the same fact as follows :

Tasmādasthirarūpaṁ vicārya rūpaṁ bhavasvarūpaṁ ca
Anurūpamadanaśamanaṁ sthirapadasaṁprāptaye
sudhiyām[2].

Vṛtra, Paraśurāma, Rāma who had to take help from the monkeys, Rāvaṇa who had to stay put in the arm-pit of Vāli, Jarāsandha, Bhīma, Karṇa, Arjuna, Bāṇāsura, Śiśupāla, Duḥśāsana, Droṇācārya and Kṛpācārya whose pride of valour was eventually subdued, using these as examples, Kṣemendra

1. Rūpaṁ vayaḥ śauryamanaṅgabhogaṁ
prajñāprabhāvaṁ vibhavaṁ vapuśca
Aśnāti kālabhramaraḥ samantāt
puṁsāṁ hi kiñjalkamivāmbujānām.
(DD, p. 98, Vicāra IV, Verse 17).

2. DD, p. 103, Vicāra IV, Verse 75.

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teaches, in the fifth Vicāra, that one should not be puffed up because a coward can be a hero and a hero can turn a coward as valour is not determinable[1]. For further illustration the story of Dambhodbhava is given, who having conquered the gods and demons considered himself to be the most powerful. At the instance of Nārada he went to Badaryāśrama to fight with Nara and Nārāyaṇa. His ego vanished before them when he was defeated. Kṣemendra ends the story with the suggestion that valour should be justly utilised :

Adarpaśauryaspṛhaṇīyasattvā
goviprarakṣākṣapitasvadehāḥ.
Prayānti vīrāḥ sukṛtāmṛtārdrai-
ryaśaḥśarīrairajarāmaratvam[2].

Much has been said in Indian canonical literature, on the forms of charity; the Mahābhārata devotes considerable space to its description. Kṣemendra takes up this popular subject in the sixth Vicāra. Very often, pride takes a man while extending his hand in giving alms. A selfish motive binds him, all his charity is veiled by it and under that cover he barters his religious merits. Kṣemendra emphasizes the role of willingness in benefactions. The importance of philanthropy is lost when it is actuated by some selfish motive or an ulterior end. Real charity is that which is free from all predispositions. How convincingly the poet sings in its praise :

Yatsaṁtyaktaphalaspṛhaṁ yaducitaṁ sarvasvabhūtaṁ ca
Yannānyayena yadarjitam paradhanasparśena śaptaṁ na yat.
Datvā duḥkhaśataṁ na yat svavacasā paścānna yadgaṇyate
taddānaṁ dhanabījavāpanipuṇaḥ śeṣaḥ prakāraḥ kṛṣeḥ[3].

1. Bhīruḥ śūratvamāsya śuropyāyāti bhīrutām
Na kvaciccapalasyāsya śauryasya niyatā sthitiḥ.
(DD, p. 104, Vicāra V, Verse 14).
2. DD, p. 107, Vicāra V, Verse 45.
3. DD, p. 109, Vicāra VI, Verse 26.

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To elucidate further, he gives the story of the mongoose and King Yudhiṣṭhira from the Mahābhārata. Yudhiṣṭhira, while performing the Aśvamedha sacrifice, was very charitable and considered himself to be the greatest philanthropist. A mongoose, half of whose body was golden due to besmearing the left-overs of the flour of fried barley (saktu) which had constituted the meal of the guest of a Brāhmaṇa who though himself hungry for several days, had given away his share to this guest without any hestitation, came to the sacrificial ground of Yudhiṣṭhira with the hope of turning remaining half of its body golden. But its body remained unchanged. When asked by Yudhiṣṭhira, it narrated the whole story—how half of its body had turned golden, and then told him that a sacrifice like Aśvamedha and the limitless liberality of Yudhiṣṭhira remained ineffective. Yudhiṣṭhira was very much ashamed when he heard this and all his pride vanished. The selection of this story in the present context is commendable and shows Kṣemendra's ability of dealing with a particular subject with proper force and effect.

With a touch of sarcasm, Kṣemendra takes up the pride, that is often associated with asceticism, as the subject in the seventh Vicāra. After penancing for years together, the sages boast of their penance but do not attain Mokṣa. The reason for this is that they are unable to overcome anger, hatred and passion. Once Lord Śiva tested the sages. Finding them under the sway of these three weaknesses, he told Pārvatī that mere 'dambha' of austerities and torturing the body cannot bring Mokṣa :

> Bhasmasmeraśarīratā pṛthujaṭābandhaḥ śiromuṇḍanaṁ
> kuṇḍī daṇḍakamaṇḍalupraṇayitā carmākṣasūtragrahaḥ.
> Kāṣāyavyasanaṁ nirambararuciḥ kaṅkālamālādhṛtiḥ
> kāmakrodhavaśādviśeṣaruciraṁ sarvaṁ vṛthaiva vratam[1].

A striking satire has been written on those who keep the airs of sanctity, boast of their penance but fail to overcome the

1. DD, p. 117, Vicāra VII, Verse 68.

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distractions of the mind. The poet very reasonably doubts the asceticism of the sage Gautama who turned his wife Ahilyā into a stone in his anger, of Vasiṣṭha who cursed Triśaṅku turning him into a caṇḍāla and Cyavāna who was enraptured by Sukanyā. Pāṇḍu had to die due to the curse of a sage and King Parīkṣita also met the same fate as a result of the indignation of an ascetic. For the real 'Tapa', Kṣemendra leaves the message that the heat of greed in the heart should be cooled by the water of 'Śama' and by the nectar of self-possession, passion should be abandoned like the stalk of a lotus, and adds that doing good to others with an open heart remains the only true 'Tapa' in this world[1].

(*K*) *Cārucaryā* :

No other poet except Kṣemendra has so successfully sketched human priggishness and frailty. His intensive study of the human mind equipped him sufficiently to write for the instruction and elevation of the people in general. He approaches with a flash gun in his hand and shows the pitfalls of life. He not only shows them, but also provides a bridge over them by suggesting useful and honest means. He understands that life is a big game and obstructions will be there if it is not properly regulated. What are those things which regulate life ? Kṣemendra has an answer to it and he approaches with a torch in hand in the form of Cārucaryā, his other pedagogic work. The Mahābhārata seems to have greatly influenced the poet and this is best seen in CC. After writing BhM there were still some subjects left which Kṣemendra considered equally important to be presented to the society. The daily duties of a house-holder, described in the Mahābhārata at length, could not be dealt with in BhM to the poet's satisfac-

1. Praśāntontas'ṛṣṇāviṣam paritāpaḥ śamajalai-
raśeṣaḥ santoṣāmṛtavisarapānena vapuṣaḥ.
Asaṅgaḥ saṁbhogaḥ kamaladalakīlālatulayā
bhavāraṇye puṁsāṁ parahītamudāraṁ khalu tapaḥ.
(DD, p. 118, Vicāra VII, Verse 73),

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tion due to the compressional nature of work and therefore, Kṣemendra endeavoured to deal with them in CC. Another reason for writing this work could be that most of the legends found in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata had to be dropped in their epitomes. But, their mention was indispensable and so he wrote CC as a supplementary to the epitomes of the epics. Along with these he gives a few more from the Vedic mythology, and Purāṇas, the Bṛhatsaṁhitā and the Bṛhatkathā.

Expanded in a century of verses, in Anuṣṭubh metre set as moral aphorisms, CC, as the name indicates, is a document of the daily duties of a man. The author's aim is to teach the sacred laws and conduct, and with this view in each verse along with his teaching, he gives an illustration from the mythology to support his point. He has adopted this method only to make his teachings more effective. Kṣemendra found that 'Life is made up of sobs, sniffles and smiles, with sniffles predominating' and therefore, thought it proper to express himself in favour of a regulated life. He believed in the division of human life into four stages, i.e., Brahmacarya, Gṛhastha, Vānaprastha and Saṁnyāsa[1]. Although he does not mention separately the duties to be performed in different Āśramas, he, however, mentions that when the hair grow grey due to old age one should retire to live in the forests and try to snap the coil of rebirth, and at the time when life is departing should remember Viṣṇu who gives peace and destroys calamities[2]. Almost all the teachings are dexterously designed for a worty householder who should always be truthful and well-behaved. Such a man is adored like Viṣṇu :

1. Brahmācārī gṛhasthaḥ syādvānaprastho yatiḥ kramāt
Āśramādāśramaṁ yātā yayātipramukhā nṛpāḥ.
(CC, p. 137, Verse 92).

2. CC, p. 137, Verses 95, 96, 99.

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Śrīlābhasubhagaḥ Satyāsaktaḥ svargāpavargadaḥ
Jayatāttrijagatpūjyaḥ sadācāra ivācyutaḥ[1].

As many as ninty-two moral maxims are metioned by the poet. They include duties like early rising, worship of Lord Śiva, offerings to the manes, looking after the guests, performing 'Japa' and 'Homa', preserving chastity and good company, avoiding intoxicants, removing vanities, following the path of 'Dharma' even in distress, honouring the Brāhmaṇas, protecting the lives of others, pleasing one's parents and teachers, being charitable without any desire, uprooting backsliding, feeling obligation, recognizing the merits of others, not exploiting others, earning fame and many other such duties. His teachings are very useful for making one virtuous ; they develop the human personality.

The direct and simple yet elegant style in CC places the work at a very high level. The poet's deep study in different Śastras is well marked here. His attitude towards life is very firmly and clearly established. All these qualities of the work proved so significant that even after Kṣemendra they imbued the Mugdhopadeśa of Jalhaṇa and the Nītimañjarī of Dyā Dvivedi, a writer of the 15th century.

(*L*) *Caturvargasaṅgraha* :

The ethical preoccupations of Kṣemendra provided him with a number of subjects. The four attainments of human life, viz., Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa, described in the canonical literature formed a very good subject of his study and he wrote Caturvargasaṅgraha. Much had been said by the sage Vyāsa about these four in the Mahābhārata. While abridging the Mahābharata, Kṣemendra could not give an adequate description of these and therefore, in immediate succession to his BhM he wrote a few works containing the ethical subject-matter of the Mahābhārata. Caturvargasaṅgraha

1. CC, p. 128, Verse 1 (The pun in the word 'Satyāsaktaḥ' is remarkable which is taken as 'Satye Satyabhāmāyāṁ cāsaktaḥ').

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is one of them. His moralistic outlook gave him the impetus to write about the four objects of human activity, viz., virtue, wealth. love and salvation to teach his pupils and satisfy the thinkers[1]. Following the method of Nīti, Śṛṅgāra, and Vairāgya Śatakas of Bhartṛhari and Amruśataka of Amaruka, he dealt with these four in CS[2].

CS is divided into four Paricchedas or chapters each dealing with Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa respectively. Dharma as described in the first chapter comprises truth, compassion, good disposition, character, sattva, charity, benevolence, selflessness, non-violence and above all devotion. If these virtues exist in a man, there remains nothing left to be attained. Then he need not do penance. The sacred places do not have any importance for him. What Kṣemendra meant by non-violence was not merely the absence of violence but the positive presence of compassion and peace.

The delineation of wealth is given in the second chapter. Everything in the world can be attained by wealth, The other three Vargas, i.e., Dharma, Kāma and Mokṣa can also be achieved by wealth. The eunuchs order the cock-fight of the warriors, the fools relish the poetry sung by the parrot-like

1. Upadeśāsya śiśyāṇam saṁtoṣaya manīṣiṇām.
   Kṣ mendreṇa nijaślokaiḥ kriyate vargasaṅgrahaḥ.
   (CS, p. 16, Pariccheda I, Verse 2).

2. That these Śatakas greatly influence Kṣemendra may be seen by comparision of one of his verses with that of Bhartṛhari's :
   Taptaistīvravrataiḥ kiṁ vikasatī karuṇāsyandinī yadyahiṁsā
   kiṁ dūraistīrthasārairyadi śamavimalaṁmānasaṁ satyapūtam.
   Yatnādanyopakāre prasarati yadi dhīrdānapuṇyaiḥ kimanyaiḥ
   kiṁ mokṣopāyayogairyadi śucimanasāmacyute bhaktirasti.
   (CS, p. 89, Pariccheda I, Verse 27).

   Lobhaścedaguṇena kiṁ piśunatā yadyasti kiṁ pātakaiḥ
   satyaṁ cettapasā ca kiṁ śuci mano yadyasti tīrthena kim.
   Saujanyaṁ yadi kiṁ guṇaiḥ syamahimā yadyasti kiṁ maṇḍanaiḥ
   sadavidyā yadi kiṁ dhanairapayaśo yadyasti kiṁ mṛtyunā.
   (Bhartṛhari, Vairāgyaśataka).

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poets for a long time, the noble servant is yoked like an ox by the ignobles—all these lapses of human behaviour are due to wealth, an abode of dissipation[1]. Thus, stating the role of wealth Kṣemendra advises that having earned it the same should be protected from the pilferers of wealth, like astrologers, thieves, Kāyasthas, singers, rogues, bards, prostitutes, mendicants and others.

Love has an important role in life. Kṣemendra has depicted the third 'Varga' Kāma in the third chapter. Women with all their various movements of eye-brows, glances from the corners of their eyes, moon-like faces, lotus-like tender bodies, touch cool as of sandal and smiles fresh like dew drops burn the hearts of man. Are they possessed of fire ? This is how the poet presents the erotic activity of the women. The heart which is not attracted by their seductive looks is said to be made of iron :

Ayomayānāṁ hṛdayeṣu teṣāṁ kopyasti nūnaṁ kuliśopadeśaḥ
Sodhāni yaiḥ prauḍhavilāsinīnām karṇāntamuktāni
vilocanāni[2].

Many of the verses of this chapter have a marked influence of the poet Amaruka. The oft quoted verse, for giving the example of Vyañjanā, or the suggested sense, of Amaruka commented by Vemabhūpāla :

Niḥśeṣacyutacandanaṁ stanataṭaṁ nirmṛṣṭarāgodharo
netre dūramanañjane pulakitā tanvī taveyaṁ tanuḥ.
Mithyāvādini dūti bāndhavajanasyajñātapiḍāgame
vāpīṁ snātumito gatāsi na punastasyādhamasyāntikam[3].

1. Yatklībairbhaṭakukkuṭotkaṭaraṇakrīḍā samādiśyate
yanmūrkhaiḥ sukhalīlayā kaviśukālāpaściram carvyate.
Nīcairuccataraśca sevakahayaḥ svāmyena yadvāhyate
tadvittasya vilāsanṛttavasaterudvṛttavṛttāyitam.
(CS, pp. 89-90, Pariccheda II, Verse 3).
2. CS, p. 93, Pariccheda III, Verse 6.
3. Amaruśatakam, p. 70, Verse 105.

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is given by Kṣemendra in the following form :

Vāsaḥ kampaviśṛṅkhalaṁ vitilakaṁ svedodgamādānanaṁ
saṁdaṣṭodharapallavaḥ kalayati svāsoṣmaṇā mlānatām.
Dūti tvadvacane śaṭhasya kaṭhinasyāgre gate kuṇṭhatāṁ
matsnehādvikitastvayā kupitayā kleśapraveśaḥ kiyān[1].

Finally, in the fourth chapter salvation or Mokṣa which is the best, undaunted and self-reliant is discussed. In the attachment of worldly things there is a possibility of one fear or the other but the true path of salvation is free from all these :

Bhoge rogabhayaṁ sukhe kṣayabhayaṁ vittegnibhūbhṛd-
bhayaṁ
dāsye svāmībhayaṁ guṇe khalabhayaṁ vaṁśe
kuyoṣidbhayaṁ.
Māne mlānibhayaṁ jaye ripubhayaṁ kāye kṛtāntādbhayaṁ
sarvaṁ nāma bhave bhavedbhayamaho vairāgyamevā-
bhayaṁ[2].

Thus, stating the superiority of non-attachment which is the first thing to be achieved in the attainment of salvation, Kṣemendra shows the transitoriness of the various distractions which invade the mind and suggests that these barriers should be broken and the final goal be achieved.

Though a balanced ingenuity of the poet is not found throughout CS yet this work is not completely devoid of it. At times Kṣemendra displays his superb understanding of the subject and creates a permanent impression on the mind of his reader :

Keśākule raktakaṣāyapaṅkakapālabhāji prakaṭāsthidante
Kāyaśmaśāne ramateṅganānāṁ kāmākulaḥ kāmukakāka-
lokaḥ[3].

1. CS, pp. 95-96, Pariccheda III, Verse 19.
2. Ibid, p. 98 Pariccheda IV, Verse 7.
3. CS, p. 98, Pariccheda IV, Verse 12.

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The verse is really very striking and achieves the desired result. The exposition of Kāma in the third chapter is consummate and this is due to the poet's possessing great insight of, and depth of study as regards the subject. It may be remembered in this context that Kṣemendra wrote an epitome of Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra and this must have broadened his outlook. He disapproves of excessive indulgence in one Varga itself and like Kauṭilya[1] recommends the equal enjoyment of all with salvation as the ultimate object.

(*M*) *Samayamāṭṛkā* :

The short-comings in the social life during Kṣemendra's time provided more than one subject to the poet. Prostitution in his time had its sway and threatened a social disaster. A moral reawakening of the people had become essential. Amongst Kṣemendra's predecessors, Dāmodaragupta, who wrote Kuṭṭanīmatam, was the only poet who distinguished himself by writing satirico-comic poetry dealing with the snares and trickeries of the harlots. He pointed out the vices with remarkable distinction making full use of his power of wit and banter. After Dāmodaragupta his ideas did not find an efficient exponent for a considerable time. In the 11th century Kṣemendra revived them by writing Samayamāṭṛkā, a book describing the conventions of the prostitutes. The inspiration for writing this work was undoubtedly Dāmodaragupta and therefore, he selected a similar theme as that of Kuṭṭanīmatam.

The SM was composed in 1050 A.D. Kṣemendra has mentioned the date of this work in its colophon :

Saṁvatsare pañcaviṁśe Pauṣaśuklādivāsare
Śrīmatāṁ bhūtirakṣāyai racitoyaṁ smitotsavaḥ[2].

1. Dharmārthakāmāḥ samaṁ sevyāḥ na niḥsukhaḥ syāt
Eko hi atyāsevitaḥ ātmānamitarau ca pīḍayati.
(Kauṭilya, Arthaśāstra).

2. SM, p. 57, Verse 2.

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The purpose of his writing this composition is also given by him and that is to check the rich and good people from the lure of the prostitutes and there by to put an end to the squandering away of their wealth and their moral debasement. The trickeries of the strumpets have been mentioned to warn the people lest they become their prey[2]. The work is divided in the eight Samayas or chapters and is named after an event mentioned in the first Samaya[1]. It describes that a young prostitute named Kalāvatī is asked by a barber to get a mother by contract[2] for prospering in her vocation. As the story proceeds, Kalāvatī, desperate in her dying profession, is told by an ignominious barber named Kaṅka to be introduced to a rapscallion hand, in the first Samaya. In the second Samaya, the barber describes the capability of Kaṅkālī, the bawd who was experienced in all sorts of trickeries designed to ensnare people. The deeds of her whole life, beginning from her birth to old age have been described with singular charm. Kṣemendra has given here the touches of local colour. The adventures of Kaṇkālī are very interesting as well as informative. In different places of Kāśmīra she moved as a whore, pretended to be wife and widow of several men, committed thefts, posed as nun, procuress, shop-girl, seller of cakes, barmaid, beggar, flower-girl, witch, etc., and in all these roles she ensnared a number of men. The places which she toured like Parihāsapura, Śaṅkarapura, Pratāpapura, Vijayeśvara,[3] Kṛtyāśramavihāra, Pratyanta, Avantipura, Śūrapura, Pañcāla-

1. Kṣemendreṇa rahasyārthamantratantropayoginī
Kriyate vārarāmāṇamiyaṁ Samayamātṛkā.
(SM, p. 1, Samaya I, Verse 3.

2. Samayena mātṛka sā kṛtrimarūpā kṛtā Kalāvatyā
Tannāmnaiva nibandhaḥ Kṣemendreṇa prabaddhoyam.
(SM, p. 57, Samaya VIII, Verse 129).

3. Vijayeśvara, the sacred town where King Ananta had ultimately shifted with the royal treasure after the ccronation of his son Kalaśa.

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dhārāmaṭha are, even now, known in Kāśmira by these very names. An ingenious yet shady description of the things that take place in the dwellings of the prostitutes in evening hours is given in the third Samaya. The Samayas fourth to eight contain the teachings to Kalāvatī who mastered the art of deception and was able, as usual, to lure a puerile youth named Paṅka and succeeded in sacking his opulent father. The exposition of the heterogeneity of the passions of man, numbering eighty, named after different birds, beasts, plants, flowers and fruits make the poem more delectable. The twenty-three ways of scaring a penniless lover, suggested by Kaṅkālī are Kṣemendra's invention and they reveal how shrewd the poet's observation was on the ways of whores. He gives a graphic account of their misdoings that lure young men into their clutches. The characterisation is poignant with the mark of seasoned satire. In dealing with delicate topics like their lecherous acts, Kṣemendra tries to adopt a moderate way, but, however, he is not able to maintain it throughout. He tries to keep close to it and, therefore, inserts them occasionally. His study of Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra could have provided more food for thought but that would have taken him away from reality. A special charm is added when he writes satires like :

> Veśyālatāḥ sarāgaṁ pūrvaṁ tadanu pralīnatanurāgam
> Paścādapagatarāgaṁ pallavamiva darśayanti nijacaritam[1].

The satires in SM are not very pungent; they are enlivened with a genial humour. The whole story has the same effect thereto but the humorist in Kṣemendra gets the better of the satirist. His fondness to blend wit and humour with irony in his satires is characteristic of SM and is the secret of his achievement.

1. SM, p. 57, Samaya VIII, Verse 126.

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(N) *Avadānakalpalatā* :

Scanty are the details as to how Kṣemendra changed his faith in Śaivism to Buddhism and wrote Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā or Avadānakalpalatā. Some information regarding Kṣemendra writing this work at the request of Sajjanānanda is found in the introduction to this work written by Somendra[1]. Somendra further informs that 'Nakka', a fast friend of his father Kṣemendra, requested him to write about the past birth-stories of Buddha[2]. The poet undertook the task of writing but gave up the attempt after writing the first three Avadānas apprechending the lengthy nature of the work. Lord Buddha, appearing to him in a dream, directed him to complete the work and himself helped Kṣemendra. The teacher Vīrabhadra who was an authority on Buddhistic texts also assisted him. A scribe named Sūryaśrī was engaged and thus the work was widened to the length of 107 Pallavas and was completed in the 27th year of the Buddhist era, i.e., in 1052 A.D. at the rise of Vaiśākha[3]. Vīrabhadra influenced Kṣemendra so much that the latter shifted his faith to Buddhism. His inclination to write about the birth stories of Jina or Buddha was also was due to the absence of any really good work in the field. The works which existed before AKL were very difficult and beyond the reach of a common man's understanding. Somendra points out that the birth stories of Jina were written by Ācārya Gopadatta and others who had haphazardly woven them with an odd mixture of prose and poetry. They took to one path only

1. Yasya Rāmayaśaḥ sarvaprabandhaprerako dvijaḥ
   Prayātaḥ Sajjanānandaḥ punyaḥ prathamadūtatām.
   (Somendra, Introduction to AKL, Verse 5).

2. Taṁ kadācitasukhāsīnaṁ suhṛdguṇavatāṁ varaḥ
   Saugataḥ khyātasukṛto Nakkanāmā samabhyadhāt.
   (Somendra, Introduction to AKL, Verse 6).

3. Saṁvatsare saptaviṁśe Vaiśākhasya sitodaye
   Kṛteyaṁ Kalpalatikā Jinajanmamahotsave.
   (Somendra, Introduction to AKL, Verse 16).

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and were too academic and lengthy in description[1]. Somendra further boasts that the Buddhist Vihāras built in the past have perished but his father's work would continue for ever in the memories of men :

Yesāṁ suvarṇapratimāpratān
Jināvadānānyabhavan guhāsu
Saṁsaktanetrābhṛtacitracitrāḥ
Kālena te te vigatā vihārāḥ.
Sarasvatītūlikayā vicitra-
varṇakramaiḥsaṁkalitāvadānah
Tātena yoyaṁ vihito mahārthaḥ
sannandanaḥ puṇyamayo vihāraḥ.
Na tasya nāśosti yugakṣayepi
jalānalollāsapariplavena
Dikṣu pratiṣṭhāpitapuṣpapālī
sthiraprastktapratimāgaṇasya[2].

The original Sanskrit text of AKL is unfortunately lost. It was said that the original Sanskrit text was not available anywhere either in India or in Kāśmīra. The credit of restoring this work in Sanskrit goes to late Sarat Chandra Das who procured in 1882 A.D. a clean block-print copy of this work in Potala Printing Establishment of Tibet containing 620 folios with a transliteration of the Sanskrit text in Tibetan script side by side with its Tibetan translation of 1662-1663 A.D. On the basis of this manuscript the Sanskrit version of AKL was prepared and printed in Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1888-1912, under the names of Sarat Chandra Das and Pandit Hari Mohan Vidyabhusan, with a parallel text in Tibetan. About

1. Ācāryagopadattādyairavadānakramojjhitāḥ
uccityościtya vihitā gadyapadyaviśṛṅkhalāḥ.
Ekamārgānusāriṇyaḥ paraṁ gāmbhīryakarkaśāḥ
vistīrṇavarṇanāḥ santi Jinajātakamālikāḥ.
(Somendra, Introduction to AKL, Verses 7, 8).
2. Somendra, Introduction to AKL, Verses 11, 12, 13.

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the discovery of the manuscript, Sarat Chandra Das says that this manuscript was presented to the famous Śākya Paṇḍita Kun-dgah-rgyal-msthan by Śākya Śrī Paṇḍita of Kāśmīra in 1202 A.D. and was translated into Tibetan seventy years later by Sovi-rton Lochava under the auspices of Phags-pa, the spiritual guide of the Emperor Kublai Gāān. It is said that the Tibetan translation is a master-piece of Tibetan poetry, prepared under the guidance of Paṇḍita Lakṣmīkara[1]. The first forty-eight sections of AKL were lost in India from the manuscripts brought from Nepal, and only the remaining sections were available. Section forty-nine is not available in original Sanskrit even now. The missing sections were added by translation from Tibetan manuscripts. The affinity of old Tibetan for Sanskrit removed the difficulty of faithful rendering into Sanskrit of the missing sections.

AKL is divided into 108 Pallavas or sections. Kṣemendra had written 107 Pallavas and Somendra added one more, the Jīmūtavāhanāvadānam to make the number auspicious[2]. Every section is named after the Bodhisattva or Buddha's births. These birth stories are the Avadānas which relate the heroic deeds done by Bodhisattva and also by Buddha. Avadāna, which means a heroic deed, assumed in the Buddhist tradition the name of a class of writing. But, this did not change the character of the subject dealt with in the Avadānas. All the time they described the meritorious deeds of Bodhisattva mostly narrated by Bhagavān Buddha himself to the Bhikkus for attaining the Bodhi. These stories were very helpful in the propagation of this religion to the masses as they imbibed the Pāramitās, the chief principles of Buddhism. The pattern of the Avadānas is parallel to the Jātakas which also deal with

1. S.C. Das, Introduction to Avadānakalpalatā, Bibliotheca Indica, p. 1.

2. Tasmin mayāpyakṣayapuṇyalobhād ekāvadānapratimārpiteyam
Mahātmanāṁ prauḍhapadānusārī svalpopyayatnena mahattvamet i.
(Somendra, Introduction to AKL, Verse 14).

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the past birth stories of Bodhisattva. When Kṣemendra was initiated into Buddhism, he had before him the canonical literature of Jātakas and Avadānas which presented the excellent exploits of Bodhisattva in unparalleled terms mostly giving them the superhuman form. The purpose behind these was to impress upon the minds of the people the divine qualities of Bodhisattva and make them follow the ideal principles of Buddhism. It was a different matter how far these impressed the people by their extravagant glorification of self-sacrifice. When Kṣemendra started writing AKL he did not swerve from this conventional path and gave the same touch of sacrosanct self-sacrifice which surpassed the limits of human credulity. It was not very late after his initiation into Buddhism that Kṣemendra started writing AKL. His limitations were evident and he, therefore, chose to write about the birth stories of Bodhisattva on the same pattern which his predecessors had followed. This did not introduce any change in the form of these stories. They were sung by him with much exaggeration of their morals. To propagate this religion far and wide, the edifying stories were told. They were intended to be understood by the masses in the bondage of desires and to draw them to this profound religion.

Various types of the qualities of Bodhisattva—the future Buddha or the Buddha designate, have formed the subject matter of AKL. Some of the qualities of Buddha's known life have also been described. All these have been described as told by Buddha to his disciples who were the aspirants of Buddhahood. The whole of Avadāna literature relates to Bodhisattva who has been accepted as the ethical ideal in the Mahāyāna branch of Buddhism. Kṣemendra has, in the course of these stories, thrown light on the career required of an aspirant of Buddhahood, The pregnant resolutions (praṇidhāna) which determine the future course of Bodhisattva have been interlaced with the stories. They help in the development of a compassionate nature by making one recognise the

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impermanent nature of things. The practice of morality and the exercise of wisdom, the annihilation of anger, hatred and error, the promotion of faith, compassion, charity and disinterestedness (which eventually brings patience and forbearance), training in good works and the cultivation of virtues to attain Bodhi, study (dhyāna) and meditation (samādhi) to understand the noble truths, freedom from desires and conformity of life to Dharma—all these have been elaborately discussed by Kṣemendra in these Avadānas. These correspond to the tenfold Bhūmis or stages stated in Mahāyāna branch of Buddhism. The principles of moral life like Dāna (charity), Vīrya (fortitude), Śīla (morality), Kṣānti (patience) and Dhyāna (meditation) and the crowning of all Prajñā, the abode of peace and blessing, have all been exemplified. In the Mahāyāna way Kṣemendra has also stated that to follow Buddha's teachings is the way to salvation. He also lays stress on faith in God or Bhakti. Emancipation cannot be achieved by one's own powers and for this one needs the help of a saviour. The doctrines of Karma or the continuous working of the deeds, good and bad, have been emphatically related. Here also, as a true follower of the Mahāyāna, he says that salvation can be attained through the mercy of Buddha. Another striking feature of the Mahāyāna is the ethical humanism and universalism. This has been imbibed here that every man could aim at becoming a Bodhisattva and even a low caste person could attain salvation by the practice of virtue and devotion to the Buddha. The ideal ethical merit of turning to the advantage of others, contained in the teaching of 'paropakāra' or doing good for others, is often stressed here. The Mahāyāna emphasized not 'Nirvāṇa' but the attainment of Bodhi or enlightened sainthood. This aspect is also touched by Kṣemendra. He does not explain what 'Nirvāṇa' is, but in the traditional Buddhist manner says that it is freedom from rebirth, snapping the chain of existence and the rooting out of desires, spite and ignorance. Thus, AKL of Kṣemendra makes clear the concept of the Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism.

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(O) *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* :

Another of Kṣemendra's works written for students is Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa or Necklace for poets—a treatise on the environment for the budding poet[1]. Like his predecessors Daṇḍin, Rudraṭa, Vāmana and Rājaśekhara, Kṣemendra also understood the predominant role of environment in the development of poetic faculty. Every one is not a born poet. They are very few who inherit poetical talents and even if one may possess them he or she may not be able to keep them up for want of proper nourishment which depends on the environment. The qualities borne by heriditary endowment need to be stimulated. Conditioned under a proper atmosphere they flourish and bring the potentialities to perfection. This is more true in the ease of a poet, a fact intensively and interestingly portrayed in Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa by Kṣemendra.

In KK, Kṣemendra quotes his Śaśivaṁśa, Padyakādambarī, Citrabhāratanāṭaka, Lāvaṇyavatī, Kanakajānakī, Muktāvali, and Amṛtataraṅga, the works which are now lost. He was at this time under the influence of Śaivism as is clear from his belief in the power of incantation which formulates a very important bearing of Saiva cult[2].

KK is divided into five Sandhis or links dealing with acquisition of the art of poetry by one who is not a poet, instruction for one who has obtained mastery over speech, the nature of poetic charm when one has received training, discrimination between merits and demerits and lastly, complete hold on the

1. Śiṣyāṇāmupadeśāya viśeṣāya vipaścitām
Ayaṁ Sarasvatīsāraḥ Kṣemendreṇa pradarśyate.
(KK, p. 122, Sandhi I, Verse 2).

2. Jayati jitasudhāmbhaḥ saṁbhavadvāgbhavaśrī-
ratha sarasasamudyat kāmatattvānubhāvā
Tadanuparamadhāmadhyānasaṁlabdhamokṣā
Raviśaśiśikhirūpā Traipurī mantraśaktiḥ.
(KK, p. 122, Sandhi I, Verse I).

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art of poetry with ease and familiarity[1]. For the poet aspirant Kṣemendra suggests two types of efforts—Divya (divine) and Pauruṣa (Human). The first is to recite the incantation of Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Learning. The human effort is multifarious in its complexity and varies from person to person. Precisely, Kṣemendra puts them in three types—Alpaprayatnasādhya or one who can be trained easily, Kṛcchrasādhya or one who needs some effort and Asādhya or one who cannot be trained. The first, for cultivating the poetic power, should learn under a man of letters and ought not to have a mere logician or pure grammarian as his teacher because such persons stand as an obstacle in the way of delicate, creative poetry. For an aspirant of this category, the learning of the grammatical forms including nouns, verbs, the employment of metres and finally getting acquainted with the delightful poetry with heart and soul is necessary[2]. Many more things are prescribed for him. For cultivating the art, practice is very essential. Absorbed into various sentiments, delighted by every merit and nourished by the power of discernment, poetic talent takes birth like a sprout[3].

For the aspirant of the second category, more practice is prescribed than the first. He should thoroughly study all the works of the great poets like Kālidāsa etc. and other historical

1. Tatrākaveḥ kavitvāptiḥ sikṣā prāptagiraḥ kaveḥ
camatkṛtiśca śikṣāptau guṇadoṣodgatistataḥ
Paścātparicayaprāptirityete pañca sandhayaḥ.
(KK, p. 122, Sandhi I, Verses 3, 4).

2. Kurvīta sāhityavidaḥ sakāśe śrutārjanaṁ kāvyasamudbhavāya
na Tārkikaṁ Kevalaśābdikaṁ vā kuryādgurum sūktivikāsavighnam.
Vijñātaśabdāgamanāmadhātuśchandovidhāne vihitaśramaśca
kāvyeṣu mādhuryamanorameṣu kuryādakhinnaḥ śravaṇābhiyogam.
(KK, p. 123, Sandhi I, Verses 15, 16).

3. Rase rase tanmayatāṁ gatasya guṇe guṇe harṣavaśīkṛtasya
Vivekasekasvakapākabhinnaṁ manaḥ prasūteṅkuravatkavitvam.
(KK, p. 123, Sandhi I. Verse 18).

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works and keep his sprouting poetic spirit away from the unsavoury smell of the logician :

Paṭhetsamastānkila Kālidāsakṛtaprabandhān itihāsadarśī
Kāvyādhivāsaprathamodgamasya rakṣetapurastārkikagandhamugram[1].

To follow the model of a great poet is a good exercise for him. To start with imitation, and replacing the words and certain parts of the verses of the model poet will constitute a good practice[2]. This can again be improved by composing metres by putting together some words not giving the meaning of a sentence and also changing the words of the existing verses while retaining the same meaning[3].

The aspirant of the third category includes a logician or a grammarian or such other academic person uninformed, unrehearsed and unenlightened in the works of great poets[4]. Even by the employment of several methods to train himself he cannot develop the poetic faculty. For such a person the divine effort can be of some help and he may gain poetic power by invocation to the Goddess of Learning[5].

1. KK, p. 124, Sandhi I, Verse I9.
2. Mahākaveḥ kāvyanavakriyāyai tadekacittaḥ paricārakaḥ syāt
Pade ca pāde ca padāvaśeṣasaṁpūraṇecchāṁ muhurādadīta.
(KK, p. 124, Sanhi I, Verse 20).
3. Abhyāsahetoḥ padasaṁniveśairvākyārthaśūnyairvidadhītavṛttam
Ślokaṁ parāvṛttipadaiḥ purāṇaṁ yathāsthitārthaṁ paripūrayecca.
(KK, p. 124, Sandhi I, Verse 21).
4. Yastu prakṛtyāśmasamāna eva kaṣṭena vā vyākaraṇena naṣṭaḥ
Tarkeṇa dagdhonaladhūminā vāpyaviddhakarṇaḥ sukavipraban-
dhaiḥ.
(KK, p. 124, Sandhi I, Verse 22).
5. Iti tatsukṛtānāṁ prāktanānāṁ vipāke
bhavati śubhamatīnāṁ mantrasiddhaṁ kavitvam.
Tadanu puruṣayatnairdhīmatāmabhyudeti
sphurati jaḍadhiyāṁ Śrīśāradā sādhanena.
(KK, p. 124, Sandhi I, Verse 24).

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With adequate illustrations Kṣemendra in the second Sandhi holds that a man to become a poet should develop the poetic art by shadow-borrowing. imitating phraseology, copying part of verses or their entire body taken from some other poet. By this he will attaln poetic faculty or through his own genius he may become a victualler to the poetic world like the great sage Vyāsa[1]. Then follow the various things by which he must equip himself and they are, performing the sacrifices and vows in honour of Sarasvatī, the worship of the vanqnisher of obstacles, i.e., Gaṇeśa, the power to complete the incomplete verses and metres, Vidyā (learning) and its accessories comprising the sixty-four arts. He should keep the company of good poets and relish the Kāvyas. Many other things are prescribed for his observation, study, decent living and behaviour which provide a very good code to the poet aspirant.

Thus equipped and trained he should learn to imbibe glowing charm (camatkāra) in his poetry. This charm, which is described in the third Sandhi, is ten-fold : spontaneous ; thought-out, pervading the whole verse, appearing in a part of the verse, existing in word or meaning or in both, the figure of speech, the sentiment or in the story of a famous person[2]. To illustrate these, the examples quoted are mostly from his own works.

In the fourth Sandhi the merits and demerits of Kāvya have been described. To distinguish between merits and demerits is very important for a budding poet. This faculty of

1. Chāyopajīvī padakopajīvī pādopajīvī sakalopajīvī
Bhavedatha prāptakavitvajīvī svonameṣato vā bhuvanopajīvyaḥ.
(KK, p. 125, Sandhi I, Verse 1).

2. Tatra daśavidhaścamatkāraḥ – Avicāritaramaṇīyaḥ
vicāryamāṇaramaṇīyaḥ samastasūktavyāpī sūktaikadeśadṛśyaḥ śabdagataḥ arthagataḥ śabdārthagataḥ
alaṅkāragataḥ rasagataḥ prakyātavṛttigataśca.
(KK, p. 129, Sandhi III).

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discernment will chisel and polish his poetry. Unlike his preceding rhetoricians, Kṣemendra's division of Guṇas and Doṣas is on an original plan. The Guṇas are three-fold : of Śabda (word), Artha (meaning) and Rasa (sentiment). The Doṣas are also of the same types containing perspicuity of words, meaning and sentiment. Due to these Guṇas and Doṣas the Kāvya may be meritorious or meritless, defective or flawless and finally full of both[1]. The poet aspirant is advised to follow only the merits and differentiate between the best, mediocre and the worst and then keep up the proper convention and the usage of speech.

The poet who is not conversant with the aesthetics of the cultivation of poetic art and is always hammering at the art of versification with his limited knowledge of words and their literal meaning addles the wits when he is questioned in an assembly of the wise. To make such a poet accomplished in his art, Kṣemendra advises in the fifth Sandhi that he should have familiarity with logic, grammar, the dramatic art, politics, sexology, the epics, the means of emancipation, spiritual science, metallurgy, science of jewels, medicine, astronomy, archery, the distinguishing signs of elephants, horses and men, the art of gambling, magic and such other arts[2]. Familiarity with and knowledge of these things will establish the poet firmly in the poetic world and train him to face the assemblies of intellectuals. The miscellaneous arts include knowledge of painting, trees, hunters, familiarity with

1. Tatra śabdavaimalyamarthavaimalyaṁ rasavaimalyamiti trayaḥ Kāvyaguṇāḥ. Śabdakāluṣyamarthakāluṣyaṁ rasakāluṣyamiti Kāvyadoṣāḥ. Saguṇaṁ nirguṇaṁ sadoṣaṁ nirdoṣaṁ saguṇadoṣaṁ ca Kāvyam.
(KK, p. 131, Sandhi IV).
2. Tatra Tarka Vyākaraṇa Bharata Cāṇakya Vātsyāyana Bhārata-Rāmāyaṇamokṣopāyātmajñānadhātuvādaratnaparīkṣāvaidyaka-jyotiṣadhanurvedagajaturagapuruṣalakṣaṇadyūtendra-jālaprakīrṇeṣu paricayaḥ kavisāmrājya vyañjanaḥ.
(KK, p. 134, Sandhi V).

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magnanimity, animating the inanimate by putting life into them by describing them as live, devotion, discretion, peace and restraint. Thus, Kṣemendra gives a subtle yet exhaustive description for the acquisition of the art of poetry to the poet aspirant.

This subject was dealt with exhaustively by Rājaśekhara in Kāvyamīmāṁsā and Kṣemendra seems to have been inspired by it. Strikingly enough the method of treatment is Kṣemendra's own. His own division of the essentials for a poet in the making is very methodical and the illustrations very explanatory. He has tried to make his exposition more practical than that of Rājaśekhara. Rājāśekhara contends that a man, to become a poet, apart from the question of genius, must equip himself with Vidyā (learning) and Upavidyās (auxiliaries), associated with poets of repute, be pure of mind and body, live in inspiring surroundings, engage meek and obedient servants, have friends knowing different languages, keep a sufficiently intelligent scribe, possess the equipments of writing, cultivate the capacity to contemplate on different subjects in an original way, keep up the taste of the public and sustain whatever patronage he receives, have tolerance and forbearance of criticism, abstain from reciting his verses before only one person, and divide his day into proper divisions in order to regulate his life and create congeniality for the development of his poetic faculty[1]. This advice by Rājaśekhara does not include as to how a poet should imbibe skill. Though he believed in divine origin of poetry yet he does not mention that poetic knack can be improved through the grace of the Goddess of Learning. He recommends the knowledge of Vidyā and Upavidyā but does not say how to make a practical use of them. How to follow the great poets in spirit is another point on which he is silent. The poetic charm (camatkāra) and its presentation in the

1. Rājaśekhara, Kāvyamīmāṁsā, Chapter X.

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poems, which is no less an important point according to Kṣemendra, has not drawn the attention of Rājaśekhara. On the text of chiseling and polishing the skill by proper inclusion of merits and exclusion of demerits nothing has been said in Kāvyamīmāṁsā. Kṣemendra does not make such a mistake and in the fourth Sandhi of KK, gives a proper division of these and advises incorporation of merits and elimination of demerits. Finally, the various branches of learning about whose proper application Kṣemendra gives illustrations, find only a mere mention in Rājaśekhara's book without any emphasis on their employment. Thus, we see that the originality shown by Kṣemendra even on a much discussed point like Kavi Śikṣā shows his unflinching industry in the field of literature.

KK in a way, besides being a guide to its students displays how Kṣemendra himself developed his poetic faculty. The examples, quoted by him mostly from his own works, show that he possessed all the qualifications which he wanted a poet aspirant to possess. In the second Sandhi of KK where he gives a hundred pieces of advice to a budding poet in his second stage of training, many of the teachings are based on his own experience. His amazing industry, the enjoyment of of the Mahākāvyas, watching plays, leaning towards the sentiments of love, interest in the romantic literature, knowledge of the ways of the public, following of history, observation of the behaviour of animate objects, attending public assemblies, using the language of the country and becoming a pupil of any one for the sake of learning, are some of his teachings which are manifest in his works like RM, BhM, Citrabhārata Naṭaka, KV, DU, NM, Lāvaṇyavatī, Nṛpāvali, SM and BKM respectively. His association with the great poet and philosopher Abhinavagupta and declaration of himself as a disciple of great intellectuals also support his effort in the real direction of an industrious poet.

The subject of Kaviśikṣā became more popular and interested the poets even after Kṣemendra. The Kāvyānuśāsana

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of Hemachandra, Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra of Vāgbhaṭa, Kāvyakalpalatā of Arisiṁha, Alaṅkāraśekhara of Keśava and Kavikalpalatā of Deveśvara, were works which were mostly influenced by KK.

(*P*) *Aucityavicāracarcā* :

The tremendous power and ingenuity of Kṣemendra in literature is not only marked in his didactic works but also in the works on literary criticism. Amongst such works is his Aucityavicāracarcā or a Discourse on the Theory of Propriety. This work has placed him amongst the chief critics of Sanskrit literature. The development of poetics in Sanskrit has passed through many vicissitudes so far as the formulation of a theory regarding the soul of Poetry is concerned. Beginning from Bharata who considered Rasa as the soul of Poetry, other rhetoricians like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, Ānandavardhana, Rājaśekhara, Abhinavagupta, Kuntaka, Mahimabhaṭṭa, Bhoja, Viśvanātha and Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha advocated various therories about the soul of Poetry. The different schools of thought were evolved by them viz., Rasa, Alaṅkāra, Rīti, Vakrokti and Dhvani. These schools were named after the principal elements which were regarded by the above-mentioned propounders as the summum bonum of Poetry. Kṣemendra evolved a new theory named propriety and established that the soul of poetry is nothing but propriety. He did not, of course, coin a new word for naming his theory because it was already mentioned by Daṇḍin, Ānandavardhana, Kuntaka and and Mahimabhaṭṭa who accepted the importance of propriety in poetry but did not recognise it as its soul. Kṣemendra by his AVC embarked upon a new theory and established in a new way that if poetry possessed propriety then the other things like Alaṅkāras, etc., would not matter much.

Like his other works, in the colophon of AVC Kṣemendra talks about his father Prakāśendra and conveys to us that the work was composed during King Ananta's reign for the

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benefit of Udayasiṁha who was the son of his friend Ratnasiṁha :

Śrīratnasiṁhe suhṛdi prayāte śārvaṁ puraṁ Śrīvijayeśarājñi
Tasyātmajasyodayasiṁhanāmnaḥ kṛte kṛtastena girāṁ vicāraḥ[1].

From this verse it seems that there was a feudal king who ruled in Vijayeśvara, the modern Bijabihāra which is between Anantanāga and Śrīnagara. Kalhaṇa does not mention Ratnasiṁha or Vijayeśvara. Kṣemendra has mentioned Vijayeśvara in SM[2]. The reference to Ratnasiṁha does not serve any purpose in fixing the date of AVC. But, we can be sure that it was written after 1052 A.D. when AKL was composed, because Kṣemendra quotes verses from AKL in the work under review[3].

As pointed out earlier, the idea of Aucitya or propriety in poetry was enunciated by Daṇḍin, elaborated by Ānandavardhana, Kuntaka and Mahimabhaṭṭa, and maintained by Kṣemendra as the very essence of poetry. The idea was so important that the writers after Ānandavardhana had to include it under the discussion of the accomplishment and blemishes of Rasa. Besides the conventional flaws of word and its meaning, of sentence and its meaning, it was since Vāmana's time that the writers in Sanskrit Poetics paid much attention to the defects of the violation of Rasa. When Kṣemendra wrote AVC he had before him all the established theories about the soul of poetry and the descriptions of the various deficiencies found in it. His position was more advantageous than that of other writers. Though not mentioning expressly, Daṇḍin accepted the importance of propriety in Alaṅkāra when he said :

Na liṅgavacane bhinne na hīnādhikatāpi vā
Upamādūṣaṇāyālaṁ yatrodvego na dhīmatām[4].

1. AVC, p. 160.
2. SM, p. 10, Samaya II, Verse 52.
3. AVC, pp. 132, 150 and 158.
4. Kāvyādarśa II, 51.

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meaning thereby that a simile will incur a defect if it does not please the wise or Sahṛdaya. Ānandavardhana, though a Dhvanivādin, emphasised the importance of the proprieties with regard to the speaker (vaktṛ), the subject-matter, the use of accessories or vibhāvas, etc., and the figures of speech, and further suggested that in the development of a particular sentiment the conflicting element should always be avoided[1]. Kuntaka, the Vakroktivādin, mentioned Aucitya as a merit or guṇa common to all the three Mārgas or styles namely, Sukumāra, Vicitra and Madhyama[2]. Mahimabhaṭṭa referred to impropriety of Śabda and Artha. He divided propriety as external (bahiraṅga) and internal (antaraṅga) and discussed only the first. The external propriety according to him falls under five doṣas of composition viz., Vidheyāvimarśa (non-discrimination of the predicate). Prakramabheda (violation of regular order), Kramabheda (irregularity in syntax),Paunaruktya (tautology) and Vācyāvacana (omission of what must be stated). Thus the rhetoricians preceding Kṣemendra considered the nature of propriety in general, in connection with Rasadoṣas. Kṣemendra went further and explained Aucitya as the very essence of Rasa and as central to the charm or aesthetic pleasure in poetry[3]. The Alaṅkāras and Guṇas being only ornaments, excellences cannot lend charm to a composition if it is devoid of propriety and therefore, Aucitya only

1. Avirodhī virodhī va rasāṅgini rasāntare
paripoṣaṁ na netavyastathā syādavirodhatā.
Vācyānāṁ vācakānāṁ ca yadaucityena yojanam
rasādiviṣayenaitatkarma mukhyaṁ mahākaveḥ.
(Dhvanyāloka III, 24, 32).

2. Āñjasena svabhāvasya mahatvaṁ yena poṣyate
Prakāreṇa tadaūcityamucitākyānajīvitam.
(Vakroktijīvita I, 37).

3. Aucityasya camatkārakāriṇaścārucarvaṇe
Rasajīvitabhūtasya vicāraṁ kurutedhunā.
(AVC, p. 115).

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should be regarded as the soul of poetry[1]. With very convincing reasons Kṣemendra emphasises the importance of propriety. There is no place in the world for improper things. A necklace is worn in the neck and the anklets on the ankles. If the necklace be worn on some other part of the body it will never enhance beauty, on the contrary the effect will be ugly. Similarly, the gunas or the merits will be merits only if they are introduced with propriety otherwise they will be blemishes[2]. Continuing to stress the importance of propriety and its superiority to other elements like guṇās and alaṅkāras, Kṣemendra defines propriety as that which is appropriate or harmonious to the others and therefore called proper or ucita in its relation to that object :

Ucitaṁ prāhurācāryāḥ sadṛśaṁ kila yasya yat
Ucitasya ca yo bhāvastadaucityaṁ pracakṣate[3].

The scope of propriety is immense and to show this Kṣemendra mentions as many as twenty-eight points for consideration of propriety in a poem. They are—word, sentence, drift of a composition, literary excellences, poetic figures of speech, sentiment (rasa), verbs, case, gender, number, adjective, prefix, particle (nipāta), tense, context, family, surrounding, substance, purpose, naturalness, peroration, intuition, stage, thought, appellation, benediction and other aspects of poetry[4].

1. Alaṅkārāstvalaṅkārā guṇā eva guṇāḥ sadā
Aucityaṁ rasasiddhasya sthiraṁ kāvyasya jīvitam.
(AVC- p. 115).

2. Ucitasthānavinyāsādalaṅkṛtiralaṅkṛtiḥ
Aucityādacyutā nityaṁ bhavantyeva guṇā guṇāḥ.
Alaṅkṛtirucitasthānavinyāsādalaṅkartuṁ ksamā bhavati anyathā tvalaṅkṛtivyapadeśameva na labhate. Tadvadaucityādaparicyutā guṇā guṇatāmāsādayanti anyathā punaraguṇā eva.
(AVC, pp. 115-116).

3. AVC, p. 116,

4. Pade vākye prabandhārthe guṇālaṅkaraṇe rase
Kriyāyāṁ kārake liṅge vacane ca viśeṣaṇe.

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With copious and comparative illustrations of propriety and impropriety taken from various writers and from his own works Kṣemendra explains each of the above-mentioned points. In order to elucidate the point, sometimes he gives more than one example. A truly critical outlook of the poet is seen in this work. He is both appreciative and critical of his own works and those of other poets and shows wonderful balance and rare poise. He deals in great detail with the propriety in Rasa and in case-affixes. After discussing the propriety in the Rasas one by one he takes up the combination of different Rasas. In his opinion such a combination should also possess propriety and provide a superb taste to the readers[1]. Thus we find in AVC a more exhaustive treatment of Aucitya which was not available in other works on poetics.

Kṣemendra's search for propriety in the poetry of the great writers like Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Amaruka, Rājaśekhara and others is very fascinating. He deduces very interesting points and marks the various phases of propriety in poetry. An example may be taken :

Krodhaṁ prabho saṁhara saṁhareti
yāvadgiraḥ khe marutāṁ caranti
Tāvat sa vahnirbhavanetrajanmā
bhasmāvaśeṣam madanaṁ cakāra.

Quoting this verse from Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhavam, Kṣemendra points out the impropriety of the name 'Bhava' (i.e. the Creator) for Lord Śiva in place of Rudra (the Terrific)

Upasarge nipāte ca kāle deśe kule vrate
Tattve sattvepyabhiprāye svabhāve sārasaṅgrahe.
Pratibhāyāmavasthāyāṁ vicāre nāmnyathāśiṣi
Kāvyasyāṅgeṣu ca prāhuraucityaṁ vyāpi jīvitam.
(AVC, p. 116).

1. Yathā madhuratiktādyā rasāḥ kuśalayojitāḥ
vicitrāsvādatāṁ yānti śṛṅgārādyāstathā mitoaḥ.
Teṣāṁ parasparāśleṣātkuryādaucityarakṣaṇam
anaucityena saṁspṛṣṭo rasasaṁkaraḥ,
(AVC, pp. 131-132).

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darticularly when the subject under discussion was that the fire of Śiva's eye reduced the god of love to ashes. Similar other points are reviewed by the poet with much ingenuity. Though in selecting the examples especially of impropriety, Kṣemendra has observed great care ; yet in certain places his critical judgment gets off the mark. Giving the example of impropriety in the use of a word (Pada) he quotes a verse of Dharmakīrti[1] and finds fault in the use of the word 'Tanvī' as this word is used for a woman in separation. The lady described is herself a separate soul from her lover and therefore the word 'Tanvī' is not improper. Moreover, the word 'Tanvī' was never coined to denote a lady in separation. It is another thing that by the convention of the poets its scope is limited. But, such circumstances are very rare and do not lessen the worth of Kṣemendra's work. The work is very subtle in nature and concerns a very important subject of poetics and renders the intricate and academic classification of Guṇas and Doṣas unimportant.

(Q) *Suvṛttatilaka* :

In KK Kṣemendra has stressed the importance of knowledge of different metres for the poet aspirant. Such a poet must have thorough knowledge of the popular metres employed by the eminent poets. To give a clear exposition of these metres and their proper selection for use, leaving their blemishes aside and following their excellences, Kṣemendra chose to write Suvṛttatilaka—a work on prosody, as a specimen for his students[2]. Sanskrit prosody, which traces its history from the

1. Lāvaṇyadraviṇavyayo na gaṇitaḥ kleśo mahānsvīkṛtaḥ
svacchandasya sukhaṁ janasya vasataścintājvaro nirmitaḥ
Eṣāpi svayameva tulyaramaṇābhāvādvarākī ha ā
kor haścetasi vedhasā vinihatastanvyāstanu ṁ tanvatā.
(AVC, p. 117).

2. Kṣemendreṇa suśiṣyāṇāṁ Sarasvatyāḥ prasādhanam
Suvṛttatilakaṁ varṇaruciraṁ kriyate mukhe.
(ST, p. 29, Vinyāsa I, Verse 4),

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Vedas and has been counted amongst six Vedāṅgas found many exponents like Piṅgala, Bharata, Varāhamihira and was also included in the Agnipurāṇa and Śrutabodha of Kālidāsa (?), found an ingenius expositor in Kṣemendra who discused it in a way altogether different from the traditional.

ST was written after the composition of AVC. This statement receives support from his salution in the invocatory verses to Lord Viṣṇu :

Svacchandalaghurūpāya trijagadgurave namaḥ
Spaṣṭavāmanavṛttāya māyāvakrāya Cakriṇe[1].

Though in the verse preceding this, Kṣemendsa has offered homage to Lord Śiva, his bent towards Vaiṣṇavism is evident which supports the fact that this work was written when the poet was under the influence of Vaiṣṇavism. In AVC also he has offered a prayer to Lord Viṣṇu. ST is the work written in the transitional period which had its second phase after 1050 A.D. These phases marked the change of faith of Kṣemendra in respect of certain religions.

While talking about so many types of proprieties in Kāvya in AVC, Kṣemendra had left out the 'Vṛttaucitya' or the propriety of the metres. The subject was very important and therefore, the poet dealt with it in ST. By the composition of ST Kṣemendra strove to offer a knowledge of some special metres—very charming to listen and employed by the eminent writers[2], to those who can mould their speech and use them :

Ityeṣa vaśyavacasāṁ sarvavṛttaprasaṅginām
Ukto vibhāgaḥ sadvṛttaviniveṣe viśeṣavān[3].

The name of the work itself suggests that fine metre in poetry is like 'tilaka' on the forehead. ST is divided into three Vinyāsas or chapters. In the first Vinyāsa the twenty-

1. ST, p. 29, Vinyāsa I, Verse 2.
2. Draṣṭvā chandāṁsi sundaryaṁ vicāryāryapriyaḥ kṛtaḥ
Prasiddhakāvyakarmaṇyavṛttānāmeṣa saṅgrahaḥ.
(ST, p. 29, Vinyāsa I, Verse 5).
3. ST, p. 53, Vinyāsa III, Verse 25.

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eight most popular metres have been defined with illustrations which incorporate the names of the metres also and this gives them a special charm. The metres defined are—Tanumadhyā, Kumāralalita, Vidyunmālā, Pramāṇī, Śloka, Anuṣṭup, Bhujagaśiśubhṛtā, Rukmavatī, Indravajrā, Upendravajrā, Upajāti, Dodhaka, Śālinī, Rathoddhatā, Svāgatā, Toṭaka, Vaṁśastha, Drutavilambita, Praharṣiṇī, Vasantatilaka, Mālinī, Narkuṭa, Pṛthvī, Hariṇī, Śikhariṇī, Mandākrāntā, Śārdūlavikrīḍita and Sragdharā. These metres which are very charming, devoid of difficult and uneven number of syllables and free from irregular caesura are well suited to all poetic needs, as commonly used by great poets and are as pleasing to the ear as ambrosia is to the tongue[1]. But for Anuṣṭup, Kṣemendra has specially composed different examples for these metres. The selection of these metres shows how deeply Kṣemendra considered the art of versification.

In the second Vinyāsa a very important discussion of the excellences and blemishes of metres, defined in the first Vinyāsa, is given. In the wide range of criticism in Sanskrit literature no one had undertaken the task of such an important nature about the critical appreciation of the metres, though the great poets had used many a metre and also shown a special fancy for a particular one in their respective works. What was the reason for such a fancy ? Kṣemendra has an answer to this. Certain metres in proper context develop an esoteric charm with or without proper application of caesura, and compounds. The metres, if short, attain grace with compounds and if long, without them :

Samāsairlaghuvṛttānāmasamāsairmahīyasām
Śobhā bhavati bhavyānāmupayogavaśena vā[2].

1. Iti saralataratvātsarvakāvyocitatvāt
sukavipāricitatvātkīrṇakarṇāmṛtatvāt
Paruṣaviṣamamātrādurvirāmojjhiteyaṁ
pracuraruciravṛttavyaktiruktā hitāya.
(ST, p. 36, Vinyāsa I, Verse 38).

2. ST, p. 36, Vinyāsa II, Verse 3.

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For example, Mālinī appears charming with compounds in its later half (i.e. third and fourth foot) :

Karataralitabandhaṁ kañcukaṁ kurvatīnāṁ
pratiphalitamidānīṁ daipamātāmramarciḥ
Stanataṭapariṇāhe bhāminīnāṁ bhaviṣya-
nnakhapadalipilīlāsūtrapātaṁ karoti[1].

But it loses its grace and becomes clumsy and jarring with the compounds in the first half :

Iha hi navavasante mañjarīpuñjareṇu-
cchuraṇadhavaladehā baddhahelaṁ saranti.
Taralamalisamūhā hārihuṅkārakaṇṭhā
bahulaparimalālīsundaraṁ sinduvāram[2].

With such illustrations taken from different writers, Kṣemendra has discussed the proper application of nineteen metres.

Still more important is the subject of choosing the proper metres for the description of particular things which forms the subject-matter of the third Vinyāsa. The expansion of speech according to Kṣemendra is four-fold, i.e., science, poetry, poetry in science and science in poetry[3]. The writers of these should not employ the metres indiscriminately. A work on Śāstra or science should be written in clear style with great effort in the Anuṣṭup metre so that it may be of use to all[4]. In the Kāvya or poetry all kinds of metres according to Rasas or the theme of description can be used[5]. In a Śāstra-Kāvya very long metres should not be used and in a Kāvya-

1. Ibid, p. 41, Vinyāsa II, Verse 23 (Illustration No. 1).
2. ST, p. 41, Vinyāsa II, Verse 23 (Illustration No. 2).
3. Śāstraṁ kāvyaṁ śāstrakāvyaṁ kāvyaśāstraṁ ca bhedataḥ
   Catuṣprakāraḥ prasaraḥ iatāṁ sārasvato mataḥ.
   (ST, p. 48, Vinyāsa III, Verse 2).
4. Śāstraṁ kuryātprayatnena prasannārthamanuṣṭubhā
   Yena sarvopakārāya yāti suspaṣṭasetutām.
   (ST, p. 49, Vinyāsā III, Verse 6).
5. Kāvye rasānusāreṇa varṇānuguṇena ca
   Kurvīta sarvavṛttānāṁviniyogaṁ vibhāgavit.
   (ST, p. 49, Vinyāsa III, Verse 7).

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śāstra the length of the metres will depend on the Rasa. The Anuṣṭup metre should be used in the compositions having a shadow of the Purāṇas or the works didactic in nature[1]. This can also be used in the beginning of the poem divided into cantos, or where a long poem is summarised, or in the advice of restraint :

Ārambhe sargabandhasya kathāvistārasaṅgrahe
Śamopadeśavṛttānte santaḥ śansanti anuṣṭubham[2].

The Upajāti metre adds to the charm of a noble heroine acting as stimulant of the Śṛṅgāra Rasa and of the spring and its concomitants. The Rathoddhatā enhances the beauty of the description of the Vibhāvas, like the moon rise, etc. In the description of six-fold policy the Vaṁśastha is appropriate. Vasantatilaka is splendidly suited for the expresssion of the commixture of Vīra and Raudra rasas. Mālinī should be used at the end of a canto for a racy rhythm. Śikhariṇī's use at the time of distinguishing two things is very effective and of Hariṇī in the narration of a lofty idea. Pṛthvī will be excellent at the time of ridicule and anger mixed with taunt and Mandākrāntā in describing the separation of hero and heroine during the rainy season. In the praise of a king's valour Śārdūlavikrīḍita is preferred while Sragdharā is recommended in the description of vehement winds. A stanza in Muktaka form is very appealing in Dodhaka, Toṭaka and Narkuṭa metres. These metres are free from any restriction of employment even in the display of particular rasas. Thus Kṣemendra takes up selected and important metres and defines their definite scope and sphere. His intensive study of classical Sanskrit literature enabled him to deduce these basic principles

1. Śāstrakāvyetidīrghānāṁ vṛttānāṁ na prayojanam
kāvyaśāstrepi vṛttāni rasāyattāni kāvyavit.
Purāṇapratibimbeṣu prasannopāyavartmasu
upadeśapradhāneṣu kuryātsarveṣvanuṣṭubham.
(ST, p. 49, Vinyāsa III, Verses 8, 9).
2. ST, p. 50, Vinyāsa III, Verse 16.

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of the employment of these metres. The other metres not discussed by him have no particular field and are mere objects of curiosity. With the help of this special classification of metres mentioned above, the poets who have control over their speech can use all the metres according to their choice. If a poet has acquired proficiency in a particular metre through practice he should compose his work in the same metre. Special regard for a particular metre is seen even in the great poets like Abhinanda and Vidyādhara whose skill is seen in the Anuṣṭup metre. Pāṇinī's skill is best revealed in Upajāti metre. In Vaṁśastha, the royal umbrella of metres, Bhāravi has excelled. The maiden beauty of Vasantatilaka is best visualised in Ratnākara. The jubilation of Śikhariṇī is seen in Bhāravi. Mandākrāntā moves merrily, almost mesmerizingly, in Kālidāsa. Rājaśekhara's dexterity is manifest in the use of Śārdūlavikrīḍita. Thus, the poets of the past, though using all the metres, had regard for a particular metre. The charm of metres when used in proper places increases like gems placed appropriately in ornaments of gold. In this context it may be mentioned that Kṣemendra is aware of the employment of many metres used by great poets. Even if a great poet uses many metres extremely unsuitable for the purpose yet they become suitable and worthy as in the case of improper acts becoming proper at the hands of a powerful man.

Raghavan, V. remarking on the ST says "Kṣemendra always displays some interesting originality. In his Suvṛttatilaka he devotes attention to.....didactic portions but when he says that Upajāti is good for describing the heroine or the seasons, the Rathoddatā for describing the moon rise, the Mandākrāntā for separation, he is only deducing rules from the poems of Kālidāsa[1]." If Raghavan is using the latter portion of this sentence in a derogatory sense, I do not think he is justified. Kṣemendra is not out to show any originality

1. 'Sanskrit and Prakrit metrics', Journal of the Madras University, Section A, Vol. XXII, Nos. 1 and 2, July and December, 1952.

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in this work unless it is in the treatment of the subject-matter itself. Kṣemendra himself stated that this treatise has explained the use of metres pleasing to the ear and employed by those who are famous for their writings, full of propriety and whose speech has spread far and wide on account of their poetic power ;

Ityaucityapracuraracanāviśrutaśravyavṛtta-
vyaktiḥ śaktiprasṛtavacasāṁ darśitā saṅgraheṇa[1].

ST is a work of criticism of metres in Sanskrit literature and Kṣemendra was not supposed to bring the criticism out of thin air.

It was indeed a tremendous task to study the works of literature from a purely metrical point of view. His thorough study of the vast literature could alone make it possible for a metrist of his stature to take such an endeavour.

(R) *Daśāvatāracarita* :

Kṣemendra's faith in Buddhism could not continue for long. He remained under the influence of Buddhism for a limited period and was again taken to Vaiṣṇavism in which he was initiated by Somapārda Bhāgavatācrāya. His attachment to Buddhism was a passing phase which had its effect on the poet's mind which by the passage of time lessened. Most of the works of Kṣemendra reveal his devotion to Lord Viṣṇu and this has found full manifestation in Daśāvatāracarita, the last available work from his pen.

DAC was written in the year 1066 A.D., during the reign of Kalaśa, the son of King Ananta. In the colophon of the work Kṣemendra has given the date of the composition of DAC and also the name of the ruler Kalaśa :

Ekādhikebde vihitaścatvāriṁśe sakārtike
Rājye Kalaśabhūbhartuḥ Kaśmīreṣvacyutastavaḥ[2].

1. ST, p. 54, Vinyāsa III, Verse 40.
2. DAC, p. 164, Verse 5.

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It was completed in the month of Kārtika on the Tripureśa mountain. Kṣemendra had retired from worldly life and resided on this very mountain :

Tena Śrītripureśaśailaśikhare viśrāntisaṁtoṣiṇā
Viṣṇoḥ svalpavilokitākṛtisudhāsaṁvardhitotkaṇṭhayā.
Vākpuṣpairamalairguṇapraṇihitairamlānaśobhaiḥ sthirair-
rbhaktivyaktadaśāvatārasarasaḥ pūjāprabandhaḥ kṛtaḥ[1].

No other mention is found concerning his life after retirement.

DAC is a Kāvya narrative about the ten incarnations of Lord Viṣṇu, viz., Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nṛsiṁha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Karkya. This is slightly different from Jayadeva's Gītagovinda. Although written on the pattern of a Mahākāvya it does not follow the regular style essential for it. The ballads about the incarnations of Lord Viṣṇu were sung in the Purāṇas. Kṣemendra's familiarity with the Purāṇic literature was deep-rooted and for singing the eulogy of his great God he chose the same topic which had deep and everlasting impression on the minds and faith of the people.

DAC is divided into ten chapters each of which describes an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu. The inclusion of Buddha as an incarnation in the ninth chapter is originally Kṣemendra's own. As pointed out earlier, the impression of Buddhism on the poet had not been completely obliterated from his mind when he again showed an inclination towards the Bhāgavata faith. This is evident from his recognition of Buddha as the ninth incarnation. Buhler points out that the idea of the Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu was long present among the people before Kṣemendra. He has painted the Buddha in the same form as was done in the Buddhist literature, yet the novelty lies in the unique conception.

In the description of every incarnation Kṣemendra states

1. DAC, p. 164, Verse 3.

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the circumstances which led to it. The deviltry of one demon or the other remained the cause far several incarnations. Another reason was the purpose of protecting the gods, Brāhmaṇas and the religion. As in the Purāṇas the birth dates of these incarnations have not been mentioned by Kṣemendra. Mention may be made here of Chinnamasta Khaṇḍa of the Śaktisaṅgamatantra which has given the birth dates of the ten Avatāras in the sixth Paṭala. It also mentions the Buddha as an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu. The dates, though not given in the Christian or the Vikrama era, can help the exact calculation of the time of these Avatāras. For example, the date of Matsyāvatāra is given as follows—Lord Viṣṇu incarnated Himself as the Fish in the the womb of a virgin in the Kṛta age, in order to destroy the demon Śaṅkha and rescue the world in the year known as Prabhava, in the month of Caitra on the first day of the bright fortnight when the Moon was in the constellation Revatī,when the Viṣkumbha Yoga was on and when the day had advanced only twelve Ghaṭis from Sun rise. The exact date of this incarnation can be obtained after further calculation on the basis of this date. Kṣemendra, however, has had nothing to do with these dates in his book.

DAC, being a composition written after ST, shows a great mastery of Kṣemendra in the use of different metres like Anuṣṭup, Indravajrā, Upendravajrā, Upajāti, Vaṁśastha. Drutavilambita, Vasantatilaka, Mālinī, Śikhariṇī, Pṛthvī, Mandākrāntā, Śardūlavikrīḍita and Sragdharā. Amongst these, Anuṣṭup has been used frequently. Though enough instructions were given about the employment of various metres in ST, the task of making their full use was left out; it has been resumed by the poet in the work under discussion.

Kṣemendra does not abandon the traditional style of narrating the birth stories of the incarnations mentioned, but some change in the treatment of the subject is seen in DAC. The account of first six incarnations does not depart from tradition, and homogeneity can be seen in their conception

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and execution. In all the incarnations described, Kṣemendra has mentioned the birth of each, but for Rāmāvatāra. After giving an account of Rāvaṇa's birth and his vile deeds and also mentioning the birth of Sītā from a lotus offered to Lord Śiva by Rāvaṇa (different from that described in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki), Rāma is introduced to Rāvaṇa by the conveyance of Śūrpaṇakhā that Rama was residing in the forest with his beautiful wife Sītā and younger brother Lakṣmaṇa. Thus, the birth of Rāma and his marriage have not been described by the poet and the story revolves round Rāvaṇa who kidnaps Sītā and is ultimately killed by Rāma. An important point of this story of Rāma has been left out by Kṣemendra. No other change is introduced by the poet and the rest of the story is narrated in a nutshell. After the completion of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, Rāma leaves for heaven with his brothers. The story ends here without giving the description of the coronation of the successor of Rāma.

In the delineation of the incarnation of Śrīkṛṣṇa, the full description of his childhood and adolescence is left out. This description, which forms a very important part of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and similar devotional works, does not attract the poet. Though he does not leave the various incidents in the early life of Śrīkṛṣṇa yet the miracles performed by him and the ever increasing devotion to him in the hearts of the people, specially the Gopīs, their longing for Kṛṣṇa and their pangs of separation from him, have not drawn the atttention of the poet. Here he has become the pure narrator untouched by the devotional aspect of the story. The narration of the whole of the Mahābhārata is done here in a nutshell and all the important events of it are described. Kṣemendra's talents in condensing the story of the Mahābhārata are commendable. Every relevant detail has been related and the poet is successful in making this narrative comprehensive. He could have dropped this long story and could have mentioned only those details where Lord Kṛṣṇa helps the Pāṇḍavas. But it

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seems that the influence of the sage Vyāsa had deeply impressed the mind of the poet and therefore, he did not depart from the tradition laid down by the great sage.

The inclusion of the Buddha as an incarnation shows an important point about the attitude of the poet in regard to the two religions—Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism. The propounders of different philosophies and religions always criticised each other and did not have the larger capacity for adaptation. Kṣemendra proved an exception to this type of conservatism and showed a remarkable capacity for synthesis when he presented the ideas of one great religion without offending the other. Buddhism is not painted by him as deprecating the Vedas or the principles of other religions. The teachings of the Buddha are interpreted by him in a new light and with great vigour. They are such as can be accepted by any one even though he be wedded or not to any particular faith or ideology. This can be explained by his following verse :

Āśāpāśaniveśabandhanapṛthugranthivyathāvarjita-
stṛṣṇātāpanivṛttiśītalatanurmānāvamānojjhitaḥ
Rāgadveṣaviṣapraśāntisukhitaścintāvihīne vane
pāṣāṇe ghandarbhasūcinicite śete sukhaṁ nirvṛtaḥ[1].

The control of desires mentioned in this verse is a feature welcome to every faith.

In the tenth Avatāra the poet's ideas about the Kali age are mentioned. Here he does not repeat everything as given in the Purāṇas but expresses his comments on what he felt as deprecable in this age. At various places in DAC many moral ideas like the removal of greed, the importance of charity and contentment have been interlaced. The fickleness of fortune, the deprecation of the wicked, the supremacy of destiny are other things which have found mention. At times the poet introduces striking ideas about common things. At one place he states the strangeness of things beautiful in the world,

1. DAC, p. 158, Verse 66.

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like a picture painted without any background :

Abdhau dhūmasamūhatucchatanavastoyaṁ pibantyambudā
pītvālambanaśūnyamambaratalaṁ vyāpyātatāḥ śerate
Tadgarbhāmbhasi visphuranti dahanodgārodgatā vidyutaḥ
Saṁsāre kimabhitticitrarucire nālokyate kautukam[1].

DAC is a work depicting the mature intellect of the poet. Here he is not a mere narrator of stories but the introspective cultivator of novel and forceful ideas. He has to speak on various subjects including even politics and its spokesmen.

Thus we find that DAC serves two main purposes—the devotional and the moral, and these two are blended together for the cherished wish of Kṣemendra—the happiness and good of mankind[2].

(*S*) *Miscellaneous Works* :

Some of Kṣemendra's works which have been referred to by him in AVC, KK and ST are lost. These are—Avasarasāra, Amṛtataraṅga, Pavana Pañcāśikā, Vātsyāyana Sūtra Sāra, Lalitaratnamālā, Vinayavalli, Muktāvali Kāvya, Cirtrabhāratanāṭaka, Nītilatā, Kanakajānakī, Śaśivaṁśa Mahākāvya, Padyakādambarī, Lāvaṇyavatī, Munimatamīmāṁsā and Kavikarṇikā. Kṣemendra has cited some of the important verses from these works to illustrate a particular poetic quality found in them. Their non-availability is a great loss to the students of Sanskrit literature. AVC which mentions 'Kavikarṇikā' at the very outset and which must have been another of Kṣemendra's outstanding work, included in it the figures of speech of Kāvya and also discussed its blemishes and subtleties. The very name 'Kavikarṇikā' indicates that the work was like a pendant for the poet's ear. Obviously, therefore, Kṣemendra must have quoted in it several verses of his preceding and contemporary

1. DAC, p. 20, Verse 64.
2. Stutisaṁkīrtanādviṣṇorvipulaṁ yanmayārjitam
Tenāstusarvalokānāṁ kalayāṇakuśalodayaḥ.
(DAC, p. 164, Verse 4).

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poets showing the disfigurement whieh was creeping into poetry. The work would have been of immense value for a critical study of Alaṁkāra literature.

Two other works—Nītikalpataru and Lokaprakāśakośa are also ascribed to Kṣemendra and are published as such. There are a large number of interpolations in them and because of their doubtful authenticity it is not worthwhile to discuss them here.

The avaliable works of Kṣemendra contain in them vast wealth of poetic art and information regarding the condition of the society of his time. They reflect a great and many-sided personality at work, well deserving the close and critical attention of scho lars.

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3

His Philosophy of Life

The prolificity shown by Kṣemendra in writing on subjects varied in nature indicates that he was not a mere versifier writing poetry only to add his name to the list of poets but one who had a definite depth of feeling for things of life and nature which inspired him passionately to "lisp in numbers as the numbers came". A passionate feeling for life is essential to all art, and poetry, which is the highest form of art, is basically man's imaginative experience of life, communicated through a language that is fundamentally related to the sentiment and emotion. An unimaginative blank mind is devoid of feeling and incapable of poetry. As a little scent sprinkled in a corner of a room spreads and fills the whole room with its fragrant aroma, a tiny atom of feeling in the poet grows in intensity and range into a wide, powerful and complex experience absorbing the poet's entire self and ultimately takes the shape of a neat, compact vision needing an equally powerful medium for its release, and that is poetry. This central feeling and experience are thus intimately personal to the poet on the one hand and equally intimately related, on the other hand, to things external to him—things, incidents, characters and ideas that he sees and knows around him. What we understand by the philosophy of a poet is, therefore, not any particular thought or creed in any one or other of his works but the totality of his experience of and reaction to life in all its variety and complexity.

The work of Kṣemendra, for purely academic purposes, can be classified into two groups : (i) works of philosophy, which

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show certain specific leanings towards a particular school of philosophy, creed, cult or religion and (ii) other observations, i e., poems which are not apparently philosophical works but are not completely devoid of the philosophy of life in the widest sense of the term. The poet's acceptance of different religions at different periods of his life—Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Buddhism and again Vaiṣṇavism, is indicative of a highly important quality of mind, i.e., his capacity for introspection, self-analysis, profound liberality and broad-mindedness, all that characterize true and supreme wisdom. All religions Kṣemendra believed were certainly well thought out and well defined ways of life. Therefore, the works in which he expounds or speaks about these religions are not works exclusively preaching a particular religion or philosophy, they seek to do much more than this—they indicate, analyze and interpret the various ways of life advocated by the various religions. If Kṣemendra had merely wanted to indoctrinate he could have chosen prose as his medium instead of poetry and written large philosophical and religious tracts. But the basic fact that he is, primarily a poet and something else only secondarily, shows that to him feeling and emotion were more important things than thought or speculation. When he speaks about different religions and different ways of life they hold supreme, we must not forget that at the basis of everything is the poet's own feeling and inspiration. The poet's emotional soul, his experience of life are central to everything. Therefore, when we discuss the philosophies or philosophy of Kṣemendra's works we should keep in mind that what is important is not the philosophy in itself but the amount of inspiration, feeling and conviction that have been put into it by the poet.

Coming to the works it will be noticed that Kṣemendra's philosophical poems like AKL and DAC reveal a way of life with as much clarity and conviction as other poems of the second category, viz., SU, DD, CC, CS, etc. In AKL, the

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different Avadānas set forth the code of behaviour according to the Buddhism. Though Kṣemendra mentions here the six Pāramitās and other canons for the attainment of Bodhi, or enlightned sainthoods with reference to the birth stories of the Buddha, many a point of his personal life have been revealed through these Avadānas. Kṣemendra, being the follower of the Mahāyāna Buddhism, has stressed the principles of moral life, viz., Dāna (charity), Vīrya (fortitude), Śīla (morality), Kṣānti (patience), and Dhyāna (maditation) and crowning all Prajñā, the home of peace and blessing. Being born in a family which passionately believed in and practised charity, the poet inherited this quality and strove to further its cause. In glowing terms he praises the glory of charity in AKL wherever and whenever he finds an occasion. He esteemed it so much that he raised it from its religious value of being a canon of Buddhism and gave it the practical touch of utility believing that it was the integral part of one's life without which one could not achieve true bliss. If charity was not a part of his own life the poet could have been content by citing it once or twice. at the most. But, such is not the case. He has repeatedly mentiond it and at one place he says :

Śobhante bhuvaneṣu bhavyamanasāṁ yannākakāntākara-
prauḍhodañcitacārucāmarasitacchatrasmitāḥ sampadaḥ
Yaccotsarpati tarpitaśruti yaśaḥ karpūrapūrojjvalaṁ
svalpaṁ dānakaṇasya tat phalamaho dānaṁ nidānaṁ
śriyaḥ[1].

Even a little Dāna brings merit and is not of no avail[2]. One engaged in charity should not be concerned about his body and

1. AKL, p. 38, Avadāna 4, Verse 1.
2. Cittap.asādavimalapraṇayojjvalasya
svalpasya dānakusumasya phalāṅśakena
Hemādrirohaṇanagendrasudhābdhidāna
saṁpatphalaṁ na hi tulākalanāmupaiti.
(AKL, y. 130, Avadāna 17, Verse 1).

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should be prepared to sacrifice it if the need arise[1]. In all kinds of adversities charity is the saviour not only in this world but also in the next :

Ālambanaṁ śvabhṛśatāvapāte
ghorāndhakāre suciraprakāśaḥ
Āśvāsanaṁ duḥsahaduḥkhakāle
dānaṁ narāṇāṁ paralokabandhuḥ[2].

It will be incorrect to say that the idea of charity, to Kṣemendra, was the gift of the Buddhist religion. In almost all his works Kṣemendra has stressed this principle of his life and thereby has desired the people also to benefit by it. Abridging the Mahābhārata he takes special care to describe the importance of Dāna. But that is on the lines of the Mahābharata. In BhM, bound by the limits of abridgement, he does not engage himself to go deeper in details. But in DD he devotes the whole of the sixth chapter to a discussion of the best type of Dāna. He deprecates any sort of bargaining in charity. If one gives alms with the intention of getting heaven it will not be charity but barter. The things given away for earning popularity also fall in the same category[3]. Devotion has an important role to play in charity. Giving alms without devotion is like sowing seeds in a barren land[4]. Benevolence, service to others, sympathetic and active help in others' distress and sorrows without any expectancy of reward, without announcements mean much.

1. AKL, p. 46, Avadāna 6, Verse 1.
2. Ibid, p. 175f Avadāna 23, Verse 54.
3. Yadvidyādiguṇotkarṣaviśeṣaparitoṣitaiḥ
dīyate prītidhanayoḥ sapaṇyakrayavikrayaḥ.
Lokaprasiddhisiddhyai yaḥ prayacchati guṇastavaiḥ
karoti vittayaśasoḥ sa sadā krayavikrayam.
(DD, pp. 107, Vicāra VI, Verses 3, 4).
4. Avamānahataṁ yacca dattamaśraddhayā dhanam
tadapare niṣphalaṁ bījaṁ kṣiptamakṣiptameva tat.
(DD, p. 107, Vicāra VI, Verse 5).

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Parārtiśamanaṁ vittamajñātamanudīritam
Aphalākāṅkṣayā yuktaṁ prayātyalpamanalpatām[1].

The things donated during the eclipses and at the sacred places like Kurukṣetra, etc., are only for one's own good and do not come in the sphere of real charity. Similarly, the benefits bestowed on the wife and children for one's own happiness and for the protection of wealth do not constitute 'Dāna'. The liberality shown after proper testing of one's knowledge or in return of services rendered or after someone asks for it, is not 'Dāna'. Things given gratis, if useless or unworthy of a gift, have no importance in charity. The generosity born out of despair or out of fear ; to ward off the evil effects of the constellations is equally meaningless. The offerings made on the death-bed for the welfare of one's own kinsmen are similarly meritless. Kṣemendra considers that the best charity is that which is free from any selfish motive, earned through truthful means and free from any regret after bestowal :

Yatsaṁtyaktaphalaspṛhaṁ yaducitaṁ sarvasvabhūtaṁ ca yan-
nānyāyena yadarjitaṁ paradhanasparśena śaptaṁ na yat.
Dattvā duḥkhaśataṁ na yatsvavacasā paścānna yadgaṇyate
taddānaṁ dhanabījavāpanipuṇaḥ śeṣaḥ prakāraḥ kṛṣeḥ[2].

He considered compassion, devotion, gentle words, 'Sattva' and enthusiasm very essential to 'Dāna'[3]. In CC also he has emphasized the role of 'Sattva' and no regret as essential for charity[4]. In CS he states 'Dāna' as one of the essentials

1. DD, p. 108, Vicāra VI, Verse 7.
2. DD, p. 109, Vicāra VI, Verse 26.
3. Prāptuṁ svargavarāṅganāstanataṭasparśātiriktaṁ sukhaṁ
datto merurapi prayāti tṛṇatāmātmopakārecchayā.
Āpannārtivilokane karuṇayā śraddhā sudhāpūritaṁ
sattvotsāhasamanvitaṁ tṛṇamapi trailokyadānādhikam.
(DD, p. 109, Vicāra VI, Verse 27).
4. Dānaṁ sattvamitaṁ dadyāt na paścāttapidūṣitam
Balināmā pito bandhe dānaśeṣasya śuddhaye.
(CC, p. 130, Verse 18).

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of 'Dharma'. 'Dāna' is the only wealth for which a man should craze[1]. In DAC also the value of 'Dāna' has been stressed by stating that wealth, even if protected. is lost in various ways but 'Dāna' is imperishable[2]. The reason for the mighty renown of Bali is that he offered even his own self in charity[3]. The world is full of brave persons, the number of wise men is also no less, the ascetics are also many but a benefactor is rare whose mind is not pained when offering his body in charity[4]. As in DD, here also he considers a compassionate mind full of joy and devotion, wealth earned through legitimate ways and religious merits necessary for blissful charity :

Kāruṇyādgalitaṁ pradānasamaye cittaṁ prasannaṁ sadā
kṣīṇaḥ putrakalatraduḥkhakṛpaṇaḥ patraṁ pāvitraṁ param.
Saśrāddhaṁ paravittaśalyarahitaṁ vittaṁ svadharmārjitaṁ
taddānaṁ dayitaṁ phalapriyatayā vāṇijyasajjaṁ na yat[5].

Thus we see that it was not only Buddhism which helped the poet to formulate the principles of 'Dāna' in life ; he did so long before this religion was accepted by the poet as a cardinal faith of his life. This was there in this blood and he wrote about it whenever he found occasion.

The poet believed in a regulated and well ordered life. In CC he mentions some of the necessary duties to be performed in order to systematize life. These are basically the poet's own feelings and ideals which one might call his philosophy. Early rising, he thought, was the abode of wealth :

1. CS p. 87, Pariccheda I, Verse 10.
2. Guptaṁ vinaṣṭaṁ prakaṭaṁ vinaṣṭaṁ
kīrṇaṁ vinaṣṭaṁ militaṁ vinaṣṭaṁ
Svayaṁ vinaṣṭaṁ parato vinaṣṭaṁ
dīnārtadattaṁ draviṇaṁ na naṣṭam.
(DAC, p. 39, Avatāra V, Verse 182).
3. DAC, p. 43, Avatāra V, Verse 219.
4. Ibid, p. 121, Avatāra, VIII, Verse 531.
5. DAC, p. 146, Avatāra VIII, Verse 825.

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Brāhme muhūrte puruṣastyajennidrāmatandritaḥ
Prātaḥ prabuddhaṁ kamalamāśrayecchrīrguṇāśrayā[1].

For the purity of the body, bathing is essential because the cleanliness of body promotes purity of mind[2]. In KK these two essentials are prescribed for a poet because they help in fostering the creative talents of a man. These things must have been amongst his principles of life. Kṣemendra believed in the following of the four 'Āśramas', viz., Brahmacarya, Gṛhastha, Vānaprastha and Saṁnyāsa[3]. The duties to the manes should be performed according to the rites mentioned in the scriptures[4]. He well understood the important role of a house-holder as he states that only after feeding the guest should one have one's meal[5]. Incantations and sacrifices should be performed after washing the body[6].

Some of the ethical and moral principles were chosen by him for sacred way of life. They include chastity, abstinence, eradication of jealousy, forgiveness, sticking to the religious path even in adverse circumstances, virtuous company, devotion to one's parents, 'tyāga', reverence to Brāhmaṇas, abolition of vanity in the performance of religious rites, service to the deserving, gratitude, respect of kinsmen, exaltation of the great, honour of virtues, forfeiting the company of the

1. CC, p. 128. Verse 2.
2. Puṇyapūta śarīraḥ syāt snānanirmalaḥ.
(CC, p. 128, Verse 3).
3. Brahmacārī gṛhasthaḥ syādvānaprastho yatiḥ kramāt
Āśramādāśramaṁ yātā Yayāti pramukhā nṛpāḥ.
(CC. p. 137, Verse 92)

Jarāśubhreṣu keśeṣu tapovanarucirbhavet
Ānte vanaṁ yayurdhīrāḥ kurupūrvā mahībhujaḥ.
(CC, p. 137, Verse 95).
4. Śāddhaṁ śaddhānvitaṁ kuryācchāstroktenaiva karmaṇā.
(CC, p. 128, Verse 5)
5. Arthibhuktāvaśiṣṭaṁ yattadaśnīyānmahāśayaḥ.
(CC, p. 128, Verse 7)
6. Japahomārcanaṁ kuryātsudhautacaraṇaḥ śuciḥ.
(CC, p. 129, Verse 8).

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crooked, distrust of the senses, patience even in distress, diligence, respect and service to the teacher, generosity and propriety of behaviour. These standards of blissful life have been mentioned in CC which clearly indicate the character of Kṣemendra's thought and feeling. The removal of gluttony, extirpation of bad habits through constant efforts, belief in the transitoriness of worldly things, annihilation of enmity, equal enjoyment of Dharma, Artha and Kāma, glorification of clan, the knowledge of different arts, detachment from enjoyments, unacceptance of the services of an unworthy pupil, temperance in the recreation of music and dance, respect to women, protection of wealth from the rogues, remembrance of good teachings, independence from sons in the matter of getting pleasure, behaviour in consonance with scriptures, service to good persons, attainment of virtues for the protection of wealth, no relations with one who is destitute of beauty, support of poor kinsmen, protection of friends in distress and devotion to and meditation upon God in order to break the bondages of birth and death, are further accepted by Kṣemendra for the betterment of life. These virtues laid down by the poet are not mere moral precepts set down by the teacher in him but they are the virtues which the poet passionately believed in, cultivated and rigorously practised. If Kṣemendra was only a codifier of moral precepts and not himself a follower of these virtues, the nature of his works would have been different. The poetry would have totally suffered. But this is not the position. His poetry is infused by the virtues he possessed and his firm and holy attitude towards life is intimately interwoven in it. That he followed the successive 'Āśramas' devotedly can be judged by his mention of resorting to the Tripureśa mountain in old age. Before this he must have led a perfect life of a Gṛhastha[1]. Can we suppose

1. The honour of the guests which is one of the foremost duties of a householder is supported by Kṣemendra as :

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that he had not inherited the qualities of religious sacrifice, the honour of the Brāhmaṇas and benevolence, etc., from his father who was a true devotee of Lord Śiva? In fact Kṣemendra inherited most of his virtues from his father. The family tradition was such that he, though rich, did not depart from the rigid principles of life and ever remained a worthy son of a worthy father. He achieved a broad outlook towards life and kept on cultivating and enlarging it by his own efforts.

Beholding the turns of destiny in various spheres of life, Kṣemendra developed a very positive idea about its existence and its mysteriously cruel turns. In almost every work he has remarked on the workings of destiny. In RM he says :

Aho nu na calatyeṣa puruṣapratipanthinī
anityateva bhāvānāṁ bhūtānāṁ bhavitavyatā.
Anityā karmarekheva bhūtānāṁ parivartini
aho caṭulakallolakulyā kuṭilacāriṇī.
Nṛṇāmunmūlayateṣa pauruṣaṁ karmasaṅgatiḥ[1].

Destiny is ever powerful. It can alter the fruits of good acts. Sometimes deeds done with great enthusiasm and valour turn futile and destiny continues to run indiscriminately seemingly jealous of the virtues. Its course is unimpeded and it always shifts its ground. The doors for its entrance always remain open at all places. It cannot de transgressed and it always brings miseries[2]. In DD the poet says that due to the adver-

Pūjāmabhyāgato yasmānnāsādayati śaktitaḥ
paratra mithyāsākṣīva sa maṁsaṁ nijamaśnute.
Atithirvimukho yasya yāti pūjāṁ vinā gṛhāt
sa tasya pāpaṁ vinyasya puṇyaṁ hṛtvā palāyate.
(RM, p. 116, Araṇyaparva, Verse 461, 462).

1. RM, p. 33, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Verse 395-397.
2. Na bhavanti phalāvāptiluptaklcśāḥ samudyamāḥ
Utsāhavimukhe nityamaprāpte spaṣṭatāṁ vidhau.
Satkarmārambhasaṁbhāraphalaṁ harati helaya
Kṛpāvataraṇe pāśaechedī sarvātmanā vidhiḥ.
Pauruṣotsāhayogepi yāti yadvandhyatāṁ śramaḥ
Sa guṇadeṣiṇodhātuḥ svacchandaprabhaviṣṇutā.
(RM, p. 242, Yuddhakāṇḍa, Verses 104-106).

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sities of destiny a religious person turns sinner, one desirous of good character loses it and a solicitor of wealth gets poverty[1]. The mighty oceans touching the different directions by their waves dry out, mountains with their lofty peaks erode into nothingness and even the earth with its quarter-elephants is moved by destiny, the devourer of all, reaching everywhere[2].

AKL makes sevral references to the irony of destiny. Destiny is the frame-work of magic, illusions and dreams and also the store-house of strangeness. No body is so powerful as to wipe off the weird lines drawn by it[3]. It is irremovable as the cut mark of a stone on the forehead :

Nijakaṇṭhasamutkīrṇā lalāṭataṭavartinī
Śilāśakalalekheva niścalā niyatirnṛṇāṁ[4].

A man hopes for so many things, thinks of them and tries to attain them but destiny performs all that which is away from the range of of hope, thought and effort :

Āśāpāśairanākṛṣṭaṁ vicārairakadarthitam
Prayatnabhārairanākṛṣṭaṁ vidhatte bhavitavyatā[5].

Oftentimes people who are always busy in pleasures forget about destiny, thinking that the pleasures are permanent but

1. Dharmārthī pāpamāpnoti śīlārthī śīlaviplavam
Vidhau vidhuratāṁ yāte draviṇārthī daridratām.
(DD, p. 95, Vicāra III, Verse 134).
2. Śuṣyantyambudhayastaraṅgagaḥanairāliṅgitāśāṅganāḥ
gacchantyudgatatuṅgaśṛṅgamukuṭodagrā girīndrāḥ kṣayam.
Bhraśyatyeva vasuṁdharāpi sahitā digdantibhiryadvaśā-
tsarvāśī satataṁ pradhāvati mahākālaḥ sa kopyākulah.
(DD, p. 103, Vicāra V, Vease 70).
3. Svapnamāyendrajālādi yasyāḥ kautukavipruṣaḥ
jayatyadbhutasaṁsārabhūmiḥ sā bhavitavyatā.
Āścaryarekhāvinyāsaṁ kaḥ paricchettuṁīśvaraḥ.
(AKL, p .39, Avadāna 4, Verses 11, 12)
4. AKL, p. 282, Avadāna 44, Verse 39.
5. Ibid, p, 300, Avadāna 48, Verse 31,

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destiny brings an end to every one of them and shatters their enjoyment[1]. That even in defects good points are observed, in the excellences the defects, in the store-house of nectar poison is seen and in poison the nectar, all these strangely peculiar and paradoxical things are displayed by destiny, the bride of the magician Kāla :

Doṣe guṇātiśayamāśu guṇepi doṣaṁ
pīyūṣadhāmni viṣamapyamṛtaṁ viṣe ca
Saṁdarśayatyaniśamadbhutarūpameva
kālendrajālikavadhūrbhavitavyateyam[2].

In AVC a verse is quoted by Kṣemendra, from Munimata-mīmāṁsā, wherein is mentioned that the people suffering a fall from the heights of pleasures through the reverses of destiny, become well-behaved and meek, give up haughtiness, take to asceticism, long to do penance, shattering the heights of arrogance by removing the bonds of attachment, and generally become soft and pliable as iron-ore melted in the fire[3]. This again shows how much importance the poet attached to destiny.

In DAC, destiny has been compared to a worm that bores through a tree and fells it. Kṣemendra writes that the operations of destiny are uncontrollable, unwarranted and strange. Is not a tree with all its branches felled by a worm ? That the strong will kill the weak, is not always certain, a moth extinguishes a lamp and an ant kills an elephant. In the battle

1. Acintyaḥ saṁsāra bahutaramohāhatadhiyaṁ
sthirairāśābandhairviṣayasukhajālaṁ kalayatām
Akāle kalpāntaṁ pratipuruṣameṣa pratidiśan
balī kālaḥ puṁsāṁ kila vilasitaṁ saṁkalayati.
(AKL, p. 321, Avadāna 52, Verse 15).
2. AKL, p. 559, Avadana 105, Verse 19.
3. Ācāraṁ bhajate tyajatyapi madaṁ vairāgyamālambate
kartuṁ vāñchati saṅgabhaṅgagalitottuṅgābhimānaṁ tapaḥ
Daivanyastaviparyayaiḥ sukhaśikhābhraṣṭaḥ praṇaṣṭo janaḥ.
prāyastāpavilīnalohasadṛśīmāyāti karmaṇyatām.
(AVC, p. 144).

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field a coward wins and a warrior is killed within moments—this is all done by destiny[1]. It has been further said that destiny is jealous of prosperity, does not want respect, gives addiction, dulls the intellect, destroys fame and stains the family. Whatever deeds are performed by the wise through efforts, they are all despoiled very soon by the adverse destiny[2]. Every one engaged in being prosperous turns selfish and strives until the fruit is seen but in the mean-time destiny engaged in foul play reduces it to the condition of water placed in an earthen vessel which is hit by a stone :

Kalayati dhiyā svārthaṁ sarvaḥ sadābhudayecchayā
kimapi yatate tāvadyāvatphalaṁ paridṛśyate
Tadanu ca vidhiḥ krīḍonmattaḥ karoti tadaśmanā
jalabhṛtaghaṭaṁ bhaṅktvā dūrādivāśu jalasthitim[3].

With suitable examples Kṣemendra further describes the ever powerfulness of destiny. A diseased person, keeping on light food and under all care and healing efforts of a physician, deteriorates, a person exerting very much to protect his wealth turns a pauper and a tranquil mind does irresponsible things—

1. Niryantraṇaṁ svatantrasya vicitracaritaṁ vidheḥ
kiṁ pātyate na kīṭena śataśākho vanaspatiḥ.
balavān durbalaṁ hantītyeṣa nāstyeva niścayaḥ
dīpaṁ hanti pataṅgopi pannagaṁ ca pipīlakaḥ.
Bhīrurjayati saṅgrāme yāti vīraḥ kṣayaṁ kṣaṇāt
evaṁvidhā eva bhave bhavanti bhavitavyatāḥ.
(DAC, p. 17, Avatāra IV, Verses 26-28).
2. Mānaṁ necchati yacchati vyasanitāṁ mugdhāṁ vidhatte dhiyaṁ
kīrtiṁ hanti kalaṅkayatyapi kulaṁ sotkarṣavidveṣavān
Yadyatkarma vidhīyate sumatinā kāryānubandhodyamai-
stattatsarvamalakṣitaḥ kṣapayati kṣipraṁ viruddho vidhiḥ.
(DAC, p. 69, Avatāra VII, Verse 241).
3. DAC, p. 77, Avatāra VIII, Verse 31.

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this is all done at the instance of destiny who is mighty[1]. At another place he says :

Rudrābhidravamudritādriśikharāḥ śakronmukhāḥ khāṇḍave
khelottālalatāyudhodyatakṛtāṭopeṣū gopeṣvaho
Jagmurjiṣṇuśarā murāritaruṇītrāṇe tṛṇaklībatāṁ
yasyāyantravicitrapākakalayā kālāya tasmai namaḥ[2].

Kṣemendra considered the cycle of birth and rebirth, the fruit of past deeds and the 'Karma' good or bad as something which has inevitable result on life. Such an attitude must have changed his outlook on life and helped him in making his life purer and purer. These have been mentioned invariably in the Subhāṣitas often quoted by him in his compositions. In RM he says that the beings enjoy the good and bad fruits of the tree of 'Karma' planted by them :

Svayaṁ praropitasyaiva bhaviṣṇoḥ karmaśākhinaḥ
Śubhāśubhaphalasphītiṁ bhuñjate bata jantavaḥ[3].

A being is born, grows, gets old and dies by his own deeds no body is the maker of any other[4]. The chain of deeds is certain to show some results and does not disappear. Like the obedient servants, the good and bad fruits of 'Karma' stand attired before the doer[5]. Although undesired by the beings,

1. Bhavati bhiṣagupāyaiḥ pathyabhuṅnityarogi
dhanadharaṇavinidraśchidragoptā daridraḥ
Anayacayavidhāyī niścalaiśvaryadhairyaḥ
svavaśaniyataśhakteḥ śāsanenaiva dhātuḥ.
(DAC, p. 130, Avatāra VIII, Verse 627).
2. DAC, pp. 149-150, Avatāra VIII, Verse 861.
3. RM, p. 76, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Verse 934.
4. Svakṛtaiḥ karmabhirjanturjāyate parivardhate
Jīryate naśyati punaḥ kartā kaścinna kasyacit.
(RM, p. 79, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Verse 972).
5. Na hi nāma calatyeṣa vihitā karmasaṁtatiḥ.
Sajjāḥ saṁnihitā nityaṁ śubhāśubhaphalodayaḥ
tiṣṭhanti puruṣasyāgre sadbhṛtyāḥ subhṛtā iva.
(RM, p. 79, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Verses 975-976).

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the good and bad deeds done in past lives are born through the bonds of 'Karma' :

Anicchayaiva sukṛtaṁ duṣkṛtaṁ vā purākṛtaiḥ
Karmānubandhavaicitraiḥ jantūnāṁ jātu jāyate[1].

In DD also the supremacy of good and bad deeds has been described in the following way :

Niścetanaḥ kāṣṭhasamānakāyastyaktaḥ
kṣaṇātputrakalatramitraiḥ
Śubhāśubhaprāktanakarmabhāgī
yatnāptaratnairvada kim karoti[2].
Etadeva viruddhānāṁ vaicitryaṁ pūrvakarmaṇām
Kṛcchāvasannā jīvanti vipadyante yadīśvarāḥ[3].

AKL reflects the poet's idea about the 'Karma' due to which the being has to take birth and die. On the forehead of the person are inscribed the words of births and deaths which cannot be obliterated[4]. The fruit of whatever deed, good or bad, done by a person has to be borne by him :

Janmbhūmau janeṇāptaṁ yadyatkarmaśubhāśubham
tasya tasya sa tadrūpaṁ bhuṅkte pariṇataṁ phalam[5].
Janmakṣetraśatoptānāṁ bījānāmiva karmaṇām
bhujyate phalasampattiravisaṁvādinī janaiḥ[6].

Kṣemendra believed that the birth in a noble and big family, beautiful body, a good wife possessing Lakṣmī, the mind

1. RM, p. 241, Sundarakāṇḍa, Verse 97.
2. DD, p. 79, Vicāra II, Verse 66.
3. Ibid, p. 81, Vicāra II, Verse 79.
4. Aho karmormibhiḥ śīrṇe saṁsāramakarākare
Janmāvorṇeṣu jantūnāṁ majjanonmajjanakramaḥ.
Puṁsāṁ lalāṭavipulopalapaṭṭikāsu
niḥśarmakarmaghaṭitaprakaṭāṅkaṭaṅkaiḥ
Nyastāni janmamaraṇaprasarākṣarāṇi
naitāni pāṇiparimārjanayā calanti.
(AKL, p. 68, Avadāna 7, Verses 43, 44).
5. AKL, p. 71, Avadāna 7, Verse 85.
6. Ibid, p, 83, Avadāna 9, Verse 85.

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bathed in the waters of patience—all these things are achieved through meritorious deeds :

Vipulavimala vaṁśe janma smarapratimā tanuḥ
surajanasakhī Lakṣmī vṛttiḥ priyā satataṁ satām.
Praśamasalilasnātaṁ cetaḥ svabhāvagatirgatiḥ
kuśalakusumasyeyaṁ puṁsām vīśāla phalodgatiḥ[1].

Even by the mention of the name of an unknown person sometimes the heart warms up with affection for him, as the peacock starts dancing at the thundering of the new clouds. The reason behind this is the relation with that person which existed in the past life :

Aviditaparamārthe kasyacinnāmamātre
sphurati sahajabhāvaḥ kopi janmānubandhaḥ
Abhinavaghananāde vyaktaharṣābhilāṣaḥ
spṛśati lalitanṛtyodvṛttavṛttiṁ mayūraḥ[2].

'Karma' has no barriers in its way. It enters even in the dense quarters, crosses the oceans, climbs the mountains, moves even after attacking the abode of Indra and enters into the nether regions not visible to this world. Everywhere and everytime it follows the persons[3]. The moon bears a black spot in her body and a fierce black serpent bears a luminous gem in its forehead—this is all due to 'Karma' which exhibits the manifold doings of the beings in their various forms[4]. Even

1. AKL, p. 95, Avadāna 10, Verse 142.
2. AKL, p. 154, Avadāna 21, Verse 26.
3. Gāhante gahanāni dikṣu vicarantyullaṅghayantyambudhim
ārohanti girīśvarānabhisarantyākramya śakrālayam
Pātālaṁ praviśantyalokaviṣyaṁ karmāṇi kālormivat
nāstyeṣāmaniśaṁ janānusaraṇe mārgāvarodhaḥ kvacit.
(AKL, p. 307, Avadāna 50, Verse 32).
4. Kāntaḥ kāye vahati malinaṁdoṣabinduṁ yadinduḥ
krūrākāraḥ kiraṇajaṭilaṁ yanmaṇiṁ kṛṣṇasarpaḥ
Nānārūpaiḥ śabalacaritaṁ dehināṁ darśayantī
seyaṁ citrakramapariṇatā karmanirmāṇa lekhā.
(AKL, p. 307, Avadāna 50, Verse 34).

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by changing the body or by running with great speed the cords of 'Karma' cannot be avoided as they follow a person like his shadow :

Nāyāti kāyaparivṛttiśatairvirāmaṁ
vicchedameti na javena palāyitasya
Laṅghyā na nāma vapuṣaḥ sahacāriṇīyaṁ
chāyeva karmasaraṇiḥ puruṣasya loke[1].

In KK, Kṣemendra accepts that poetry dawns upon the intelligent through their extensive good deeds done in the previous births[2].

We find Kṣemendra deprecating servitude in some of his works. He liked life to be free from every kind of dependency. Servility kills the individuality of a person and brings all lowliness. Such a person cannot have the natural development of qualities inherent in him. His life becomes a burden and his power of discrimination is lost in trying to please his master and acting according to his wishes. Kṣemendra revolts against this oppression and attacks it vehemently. In RM he says :

Dhigetāṁ garhitāṁ loke durācārānujīvitām
Yayā suptāḥ kṣayaṁ yānti nirdoṣā api sevakāḥ[3].

In similar terms the servant is deprecated in KV :

Svārthārthinaḥ prayattāḥ prāptārthaḥ sevakāḥ sadā viphalāḥ
Na hi nāma jagati kaścit akṛtakāryaḥ sevako bhavati[4].

In DD Kṣemendra says that the valour, on the part of a servant whose body is sold is meaningless and he is bound to bring a speedy end to his life :

1. AKL, p. 421, Avadāna 66, Verse 1.
2. KK, p. 124, Sandhi I, Verse 24.
3. RM, p. 145, Araṇyaparva, Verse 826.
4. KV, p. 62, Canto V, Verse 35.

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Śauryaṁ vikrītakāyasya sevakasya kimadbhutam
Meṣasyeva vadho yasya sūnābaddhasya niścitaḥ[1].

Service rendered to an unworthy master is ridiculed in CC where it is exemplified that Bhīṣma and Droṇācārya were killed as they served Duryodhana, a profligate master[2]. In the whole of SU, the bitter and hateful relationship between the master and the servant is effectively depicted. Kṣemendra was vexed to see the cruelty of the masters towards their servants and therefore chose to write separately about this social injustice. His findings about the life of a servant are very true, The description of the pitiable condition of the servant given by him is really very pathetic :

Kastvaṁ gatvara sevakastvaritatā kasmātprabhurdṛśyate lābhaḥ kastava tatra vetrivipulāghātaiḥ śirastāḍanam. Kiṁ mṛdnāsi mudā viśālacaraṇairmithyaiva rathyāmimāṁ bandho vandhyanarendrabhavyabhavanabhrāntyā viḍambyāmahe[3].

Servility was lashed out by Kṣemendra because he priced freedom and contentment very much in his life[4].

AKL paints servitude in equally dark colours. It has been said about servility that it kills independence, injures the body, takes away all pleasures and brings a chain of miseries to the beings. A little money and a fraction of honour gained through servitude have to be accepted with hot sighs. At the sight of the master the servant first gets a reward in the form of contempt, loss of virtues and lustre[5]. Kṣemendra calls it the fetter of iron, the abode of

1. DD, p. 105, Vicāra V, Verse 26.
2. Nāsevasevayā dadhyāddaivādhīne dhane dhiyam.
   Bhīṣmadroṇādayo yātāḥ kṣayaṁ Duryodhanāśrayāt.
   (CC, p. 130, Verse 22)
3. SU, p. 83, Verse 50.
4. Ibid, p. 85, Verse 61.
5. Aho svācchandyavicchedastanubhaṅgaḥ sukhakṣayaḥ.
   Sevā jagati jantūnāṁ duḥkhe duḥkhaparamparā.

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insults, abjurer of one's own business, enemy to the pleasure of sleep, a net for desires and a thunderbolt to the enjoyment of good company. It is a mirage of ignorance[1]. Servitude is dry as an old creeper which brings aridity and very rarely gives fruit[2]. Service to a low person is also deprecated in similar terms as it kills self-respect, brings shame, puts an end to pleasures, gives unbearable disparagement and causes distress[3].

In DAC also it has been said that the slave approaches the master with crouching figure and despondent face, bound by the string of hopes and when given even a little money shows gratitude and thus appears as if seated on a measure to sell his body trembling like an aspen leaf :

> Agre saṁkucitākṛtirlaghutayā yātyunmukhatvaṁ vibho-
> rāśāpāśaniveśayantritatanuḥ saṁkhyākṣaṇe lambate.
> Alpenāpi samarpitena sutarāṁ vittena dhatte ratiṁ
> sākampaḥ kila kāyavikrayatulārūḍhaḥ sadā sevakaḥ[4].

From all these observations one may be tempted to dismiss Kṣemendra as a teacher and preacher of certain conven-

> Sevāprayāsasaṁprāptaṁ dhanamānakaṇodayam
> Taptāmatyuṣṇaniḥśvāsairaho kṛcchreṇa pīyate.
> Mānaglānirguṇaglānirojaḥpuñjaśamaḥ śramaḥ
> Prathmaṁ sevakasyaitat phalamīśvaradarśane.
>
> (AKL, p. 67, Avadāna, 7, Verses 34-36)

1. Lauhi bandhanaśṛṅkyalā caraṇayorhelāvamānāvanī
   svavyāpāraniṣedhanityaniyatī nidrāsukhadrohiṇī.
   Āśāsyasya viśālajālasaraṇiḥ satsaṅgabhogāśaniḥ
   mugdhānāṁ mṛgatṛṣṇikāmarumahi sevā śarīrakṣayah.
   [ALK p. 67, Avadāna 7, Verse 37]
2. Virasā jīrṇavallīva dirghaśoṣānubandhinī
   kvacitkadācitkṛcchreṇa sevā phalati naiva yā.
   [AKL, p. 321, Avadāna 52, Verse 28].
3. Nihanti mānaṁ vidadhāti lajjāṁ chinatti śarmāṇi taṇoti tāpam
   Asahyanirvedavipadvdhāyī na nīcasevāsadṛśosti śokaḥ.
   (AKL, p. 362, Avadāna 59, Verse 133).
4. DAC, p. 134, Avatāra VIJI, Verse 674.

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tional principles of discipline in life. But such an opinion would be unjust. In fact Kṣemendra believed in the discipline of form and character in art and literature and considered self-possession, self-respect and reverence for the elders essential to life and art. A study of the classics, as he did it himself, he thought to be valuable in the formation of a disciplined and creative mind. Respect for the elders like parents and teachers was essential and fruitful. One must have certain positive ideals in life in order that he may truly flourish and prosper. These ideals can be obtained from one's superiors with whom one remains in greater contact than with others. Kṣemendra accepted this great value in his life. In CC he says that parents should be kept satisfied by true devotion, for the serpents had to die in the serpent-sacrifice by their mother's curse :

Mātaraṁ pitaraṁ bhaktyā toṣayenna prakopayet
Mātṛśāpena nāgānāṁ sarpasatrebhavatkṣayaḥ[1].

In AKL the parents' status is regarded as superior to those of teachers and even gods :

Gururgarīyānna pituḥ parosti
Mātuḥ paraṁ daivatamasti nānyat[2].

About reverence to elders it has been said that those who have not adored their elders have wasted their life and their having visited the sacred places is of no consequence[3]. The parents should be served with pleasure as they are ever affectionate and possessed of forgiveness; their affection has

1. CC, p. 130, Verse 16.
2. AKL, p. 521, Avadāna 92, Verse 4.
3. Sevitaṁ prasabhabhaktirnirbharaiḥ
pādapuṣkarayugaṁ gurorna yaiḥ.
Te paraṁ jalarucaiva kevalaṁ
sarvatīrthagamanepi niṣphalaḥ.
[AKL, p. 520, Avadāna 92, Verse 5].

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no parallel[1]. The teacher is loved by all as he imparts correct knowledge. The father who is the giver of life is also to be crowned as the teacher of teachers. The place of the mother is supreme as she bears the pain of carrying the child in her womb. No one can ever repay her debt[2]. Kṣemendra's reverence to the teachers is evident from his having been educated under great teachers like Abhinavagupta, Somapāda and Gaṅgaka. In CC he says that the teacher should always be satisfied with service and progress in learning[3].

Thus, it may be noticed that the works of Kṣemendra clearly indicate a certain philosophy or way of life. They cannot be treated as conventional codes of moral law and behaviour. If Kṣemendra had desired to be a preacher of moral law he would have written tracts of ethics and books of etiquette. The nature of his works is totally different from these. They are essentially works of art, and poetry has been rightly chosen as the medium. Even in the works that are apparently philosophical he has not dealt with any philosophy as such and for its own sake, but only with the essence of a particular religion or philosophy in as much as it appealed to his poetic and creative self as a way of life and a

1. Sevyaḥ sukhairavimukhaḥ satataṁ kṣamābhūḥ
tīvravratādiniyamairavitīrṇaśoṣaḥ
Alpepyanalpaphaladaḥ praṇayopacāre
mātuḥ pituśca na samosti gurus tṛtīyaḥ.
(AKL, p. 520, Avadāna 92, Verse 6).

2. Ācāryaḥ sukṛtārthadeśikatayā kairnābhivandyaḥ sadā
prāṇānāṁ Janakaḥ kathaṁ na Janakaḥ pūjyo gurūṇāṁ guruḥ.
Tatrāpi kṣaṇagarbhadhāraṇabharakleśasya mātuḥ paraṁ
kenānṛṇyavidhānapuṇyanicayenāsādyate nirvṛtiḥ.
(AKL, p. 521, Avadāna 92, Verse 7).

3. Vidyoddyogī gatodvegaḥ sevayā toṣayedgurum
Gurusevāparaḥ sehe kāyakleśadaśāṁ kacaḥ.
(CC, p. 132, Verse 43).

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vision. The values of life which his poetry upholds are the values which he himself held supreme in his personal life. The passion with which these values have been absorbed into the body of poetic experience and ultimately into the form of art gives and will continue to give the works of Kṣemendra a lasting importance.

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4

Social Conditions of the Country as Depicted in his Works

Taine, the brilliant French critic said that literature is always a product of the race, the milieu and the moment. A work of art mirrors the time in which it is produced and it is possible for us to reconstruct a picture of the social conditions prevailing at the time in which that work of art was composed. The poet is unconsciously affected by the time-spirit. It pervades the work and affects not only his thoughts but even his thought processes. It is many a time responsible for the subjects that the poet chooses for his treatment. But the work of art is not this only. It also expresses the poet's interpretation of the world around him and his vision of the future and the means of improvement.

The poetical writings of Kṣemendra predominantly portray the two phases, the contemporary society following the traditional path and changes which the poet sought to make in the society. The poetical history of the 11th century when Kṣemendra was living in Kāśmīra is not ascertainable and therefore the loss of Kṣemendra's Nṛpāvali, a work on the political history of Kāśmīra, is felt all the more. Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī gives an account of the political history of Kāśmīra of this period. It tells us that during Kṣemendra's time King Ananta was the ruler who reigned from 1028 A.D. to 1063 A.D. and then abdicated the throne in favour of his son Kalaśa who occupied it in the same year. King Ananta belonged to the Lohara dynasty which had earned a stable position and solid sovereignty over Kāśmīra. He, though not

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very strong, held the royal reins firmly and worked for the solidarity of his kingdom. During his reign the feudalistic quarrels had ceased and harmony was firmly established. Being a peace-loving ruler, he did not like any change in the administrative set up and the conventional society. An attempt to do so, he feared, would stir up the calm and create a critical situation. He, however, took up certain administrative reforms. Kalhaṇa records that the administrative machinery became more elaborate with the creation of various departments and graded officials during this period. A part of this administrative set up has been described by Kṣemendra in NM and he commends King Ananta's contribution in reforming it and rooting out the undesirable elements which had crept in[1].

(A) *The Administrative System* :

During King Ananta's reign the whole kingdom of Kāśmīra was divided into several 'Maṇḍalas' or divisions for administrative convenience. The 'Maṇḍalas' were divided into several 'Viṣayas' and the 'Viṣayas' into 'Grāmas' or villages. The kingdom was inhabited by, amongst others, a considerable proportion of intellectuals and in the opinion of Kṣemendra even Indra envied this paradise of the earth :

Asti svastimatāmagrayaṁ maṇḍitaṁ budhamaṇḍalaiḥ
Khaṇḍitākhaṇḍalāvāsadarpaṁ Kaśmīramaṇḍalam[2].

The prime officer of the State was the Sarvādhikārin or the Chief Minister[3]. Kṣemendra does not mention as to who held this office during the reign of King Ananta. Kalhaṇa, however, states that this office was held by Haldhara[4] who

1. Tena prajopasargeṣu vāriteṣu vivekinā
Durniyogiṣu sarveṣu niteṣu smṛtiṭṣeṣatām.
(NM, p. 1, Parihāsa I, Verse 4).
2. NM, p. 1, Parihāsa I, Verse 2.
3. Ibid, p. 1, Parihāsa I, Verse 8.
4. Rājataraṅgiṇī, Taraṇga VII, Verse 208.

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was succeeded by Jayānanda[1] during the reign of Kalaśa. Before King Ananta, most of the administrative offices were held by the Kāyasthas who were in the habit of extracting money by illegal means from the populace. The tricks of extortion employed by them and brought into lime-light by Kṣemendra, will be discussed later on. King Ananta did not abolish the various offices which were meant for the smooth running of the administration. He, however, turned out the Kāyastha officers who were corrupt. While exposing the atrocities committed by these Kāyastha officers, Kṣemendra delineates how the administration was run. He names the various offices and their officials.

The 'Maṇḍalas' divided into 'Viṣayas' had a Mārgapati or Vyāpārika or Niyogī-who was the head of each 'Viṣaya'. His functions included the supervision of the roads, the 'Viṣaya' and the villages under it, and the checking of the accounts. He was also the executive officer with magisterial powers to decide the civil and criminal cases[2]. The contempt with which Kṣemendra portrays this officer, shows how even in trivial affairs such officers employed their high-handedness and punished the public with severe penalties.

Kṣemendra mentions the 'Grāmadivira' as the village administrator. He had the same powers as that of a modern Paṭavārī, of keeping records of land holdings and the revenue paid by the villagers[3]. There remained jealousy between Grāmadiviras who used to be appointed and dismissed by the Mārgapati. Their energies were mostly concentrated to pin-point the faults of the Mūladivira and they were successful

1. Rājataraṅginī, Taraṅga VII, Verse 364.
2. Gavāṁ daṇḍāya yaścakre nidhanāvadhi bandhanam
   Kā nāmagaṇanā tasya nṛṣu sarvāparādhiṣu.
   Sarvasvaharaṇaṁ bandho nigraho gṛhabhañjanam
   Iti tasya mukhādghoraṁ na cacāla vacaḥ sadā.
   (NM, p. 11, Parihāsa I, Verses 121, 122).
3. NM, pp. 12-13, Parihāsa I. Verses 128-140.

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in ousting him[1] perhaps by bribing the Mārgapati. Kṣemendra also points out that they could tamper with the records and torture the villagers.

The department of revenue was controlled by the officer known as Gṛhakṛtyādhipati or Gṛhakṛtyādhikārin or Gṛhakṛtyamahattama[2]. Every revenue officer desired to obtain this office because he would be empowered to manage the Home affairs, expenses like grants to temples, Brāhmaṇas, the poor and the strangers, the fodder grants for animals and the salaries of the royal servants. Being in charge of such an important office, the officers could make money through sources more than one[3]. He had several officers to assist him and they were appointed by his consent. These included Paripālaka, Lekhopādhyāya, Gañjadivira, Śaulkika, Grāmadivira and Āsthānadivira. These officers also used to rob the public of their money[4].

The revenue officer as Paripālaka, next to Gṛhakṛtyādhipati, had the charge of collecting taxes from the villagers. Kṣemendra depicts him as pilferer of the temple properties[5]. It seems that the people were religious minded and used to donate their movable and immovable property to the temples. The priests used to live with their families in the apartments attached to the temples.

Lekhopādhyāya who worked as the clerk-in-chief to Paripālaka was the custodian of the confidential official

1. Nirasya Mūladiviraṁ chauryāṇāmacikitsakam
   Cakāra dārikaṁ sotha cikitsācaturaṁ param.
   (NM p. 12, Parihāsa I, Verse 128).
2. NM, pp. 4-5, Parihāsa I, Verses 33-50.
3. Devāpahārinā teṇa goghāsal vaṇacchidā
   Bhujyate pīyate bhūri divirena divāniśam.
   (NM, p. 3, Parihāsa I, Verse 26).
4. Tasyānujīvibhiḥ krūrairanuvartanajīvibhiḥ
   Vasuhīnā vasumatī kṛtā prakaṭastaskaraiḥ.
   (NM, p. 4, Parihāsa I, Verse 33)
5. NM, pp. 6-7; Parihāsa I, Verses 62-70.

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records[1]. He is described as well adept in his work. He could count the Dināras swiftly and dispose of two hundred documents at once :

Sopyanekārthasaṁdeśānākarṇyāvahitaḥ prabhoḥ
Dāpyaprasāritakaro lekhānaskhalitolikhat.
Dhāvatkalamacīṭkāratāraḥ kapirivāhataḥ
Dīnārāṅgaṇayannāśu dadau lekhaśatadvayam[2].

He is also painted in dark colours in the case of money matters. To please his superior officer he indulged in extortion and resorted to illegal means.

Gañjadivira was another assistant to Paripālaka who supervised the finance and acted as the treasurer. His duty was to present a budget of income and expenditure for every six months to his superior officer, the Paripālaka, for sanction :

Sa prāpya pradadau dīrghāṁ śaratṣaṇmāsakalpanām
Yasyā madhyesti likhitaṁ sārdhaṁ lakṣacatuṣṭayam[3].

He had the control over the property of the temples and graineries of the villagers as well the temples. By the authority vested in him he could also misuse the trust placed in him by selling away the huge stores of food grains of the temples and the villages in order to profit by it. He helped the Paripālaka to pocket away the state property[4].

In SM Kṣemendra mentions another officer of the revenue

1. Lekhādhikārī nissvopi lekhasaṁskāragarvitaḥ
Paripālakanirdiṣṭo vāyubhakṣa iroragaḥ.
(NM, p. 7, barihāsa I, Verse 74).
2. NM, p. 7, Parihāsa I, Verse 78, 79.
3. Ibid, p. 8, Parihāsa I, Verse 86.
4. Svikṛtairihadānena pañcaṣaiścakrikāśivaiḥ
bhujyate nikhilaṁ devadravyaṁ bhuktiśca pārṣadī
Vikrītaśeṣaṁ yatkiñcidvidyate suramaṇḍale
tanmatenaiva tatsarvaṁ bhujyate nijavattvayā.
(NM, p. 8, Parihāsa I, Verses 90, 91).

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department called Śaulkika[1] who was in charge of the octroi or the toll posts for collecting the duties over commodities coming and going through these posts situated at the outer roads of the villages.

In the military department the highest officer was the Senāpati or the Commander-in-Chief. Kṣemendra has, however, mentioned only once about this office in SM[2]. Nothing has been referred to about the officers under him.

In order to investigate into the unlawful activities the Gṛhakṛtyādhipati or Niyogī had spies who used to inform him of the activities of all the officers under him[3]. They were called by the names, Piśuna, Cākrika and Puṁścalaka[4].

Thus, though during Kśemendra's time the administrative system was organised and efficient yet the officers at the top were not very honest and sincere in their duties. King Anarta though tried for the reformation in the administrative system yet was not able to keep every corner clean.

(B) *The Factors Responsible for Social Disorder*

There are always some factors which stand as barriers in the way of the progress of the society. They bring about the degeneration in the social set up and retard the march of civilization. As a great reformist and benefactor of the society Kṣemendra's shrewd eyes penetrated into the various causes of social disorder and he took up the matter at length in order to stir up public opinion against the prevailing evils and showed the way to eradicate them. In the opinion of

1. Śulkasthāneṣu sarveṣu śaulkikebhyaḥ svabhāvataḥ
Muhūrtamohanaṁ puṣpaṁ sā dattvā svecchayā yayau.
(SM, p. 15, Samaya II, Verse 102).

2. SM, p. 19, Samaya III, Verse 33.

3. Piśunebhyo namastebhyo yatprasādānniyoginaḥ
Dūrasthā api jāyante sahasraśrotracakṣuṣaḥ.
(NM, p. 5, Parihāsa I, Verse 51).

4. NM, p. 6, Parihāsa I, Verses 51-61.

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Kṣemendra the following factors were responsible for social disorder in his time :

(*i*) *The Prostitutes* :

The burning problem of the day was prostitution which raised its ugly face and had shaken the moral fibre of the society. Kṣemendra could not tolerate this way of degeneration of the society and therefore attacked the problem vehemently in almost all his works. In Kuttanīmatam, Dāmodaragupta had already warned the people against this evil. But it continued to prevail and during the time of Kṣemendra it was in full sway. In almost every composition Kṣemendra has sketched this stigma of the society. Right from the beginning of his career as a poet he used such similes which compared evil things with the prostitutes. In BKM, BhM and RM such instances have been frequent :

Veśyāmiva mahātṛṣṇāṁ citāmiva bhayaṅkarīm[1].
Eko niṣkāsyate svargātkāmī veśyāgṛhādiva[2].
Veśyeva kṛpaṇasyābhūdvīryasāmyātparāṅmukhī[3].
Āyāntya eva śobhante veśyā iva vibhūtayaḥ[4].
Babhāra puṣpamālām sā chinnāṁ veśyeva rāgiṇā[5].
Veśyābhirbhuktasarvasvā viṭā iva nirambarāḥ[6].
Vipadaḥ svayamāyānti veśyā mugdhamiveśvaram[7].
Sāpi kalpataruśreṇī veśyeva vivaśīkṛtā[8].
Iyaṁ śrīrniranukrośā veśyeva bahugāminī[9].

1. BKM, p. 245, Lambaka IX, Guccha I, Verse 245.
2. BhM, p. 30, Ādiparva, Verse 365.
3. RM, p. 126, Araṇyaparva, Verse 590.
4. Ibid, p. 216, Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, Verse 360.
5. Ibid, p. 244, Sundarakāṇḍa, Verse 130.
6. RM, p. 244, Sudarakāṇḍa, Verse 132.
7. Ibid, p. 252, Sundarakāṇḍa, Verse 235.
8. Ibid, p. 266, Sundarakāṇḍa, Verse 406.
9. Ibid, p. 292, Vuddhakāṇḍa, Verse 34.

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Nivartante daridrāṇāṁ pravartante sasaṁpadām
Dhanādhīnāḥ kriyāḥ sarvā veśyā iva śarīriṇām[1].

All these examples reveal what the poet thought about the prostitutes. In DU Kṣemendra devotes two chapters to expose fully the harlots and the bawds[2]. The snares of the harlots to rob the foolish and salacious people of their wealth are best brought to light. Even when old a prostitute poses to look young and decorates herself in such a way as to be able to prey upon the people. She is depicted as a wooden puppet moved by strings :

Kṛtrimaṁ deśyate sarvaṁ cittasadbhāvavarjitā
Sūtraproteva capalā nartakī yantraputrikā[3].

In order to add to her beauty and restore youth she takes fish, onion, soup, ghee, milk and such other eatables which have a high nutritive value[4]. The bawd helps the harlot to enable her to carry on her profession smoothly. She is described as ruthless and crooked. The voluptuaries who are doomed to penury by the prostitutes are turned out by bawds with ugly faces[5]. She is an irremovable obtrusion in the brothel[6]. She is no better than a demoness :

Nayananayanasaktā raktamāṁsaprasaktā
sakalasakalalokagrāsamuktāṭṭahāsā

1. RM, p. 375, Yuddhakāṇḍa, Verse 1084.
2. DU, pp. 6-13, Upadeśas III and IV.
3. DU, p. 7, Upadeśa III, Verse 11.
4. Matsyayūṣarasairdāsī ghṛtakṣīrapalāṇḍubhiḥ
Priyaṁ parāṅmukhamiva pratyānayati yauvanam.
(DU, p. 9, Upadeśa III, Verse 32).
5. Viraktā riktahastasya pracehannavyaktayuktibhiḥ
Saktā niṣkāsanopāye nidrāṁ nāyāti kuṭṭanī.
(DU, p. 13, Upadeśa IV, Verse 32).
6. Kāminaḥ suratecchāyāṁ veśyāvinyastacakṣuṣaḥ
Pūrvarājakathāvyājairvighnaṁ carati kuṭṭanī.
(DU, p. 13, Upadeśa IV, Verse 30).

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Kalitakalitaraṅgasphārasaṁcāracārā
bhramati jagati puṁsāṁ kuṭṭanī kuṭṭanī sā[1].

By the ridicule of the prostitutes and the bawds Kṣemendra wanted to arouse public contempt towards them. In the description of the Gauḍa students studying in Kāśmīra the poet has stated that they were demoralised and used to visit the prostitutes[2]. In NM also the state officials have been stated as having liaisons with the prostitutes :

Tvāmiyaṁ nātha gaṇikā nimantrayītumāgatā
Ghaṭīpratiṣṭhā gehasyāḥ kriyatāṁ śiṣyavatsala[3].

In KV Kṣemendra devotes the fourth canto to revealing the sixty-four arts practised by the prostitutes to ensnare the rich. By their deceitful tactics and crooked behaviour they attract all, even the god of wealth Kubera is turned a mendicant by them[4]. A story about the evasive love of a prostitute towards a king is given to warn that one should never confide in their love.

CC gives a passing reference to the prostitutes advising not to confide in them. The example of sage Ṛṣyaśṛṅga is a sharp pointer showing how even a virtuous man like him was dragged into enjoyments by a harlot[5].

Seeing the excessive indulgence of the society in sensual pleasures Kṣemendra out of pity wrote CS to teach the people

1. DU, p. 13, Upadeśa IV, Verse 34.
2. Bhāṭīḥ pṛcchati veśyānāṁ dyūtaṁ pṛccha ti nirjitam
Māṁsaṁ saṁpṛcchati bhojye vratakhinneṣu daiśikaḥ.
(DU, p. 17, Upadeśa VI, Verse 6).
3. NM, p. 31, Parihāsa III Verse 54.
4. Tatrāpi veśayoṣāḥ kuṭilatarāḥ kūṭarāgāhṛtalokāḥ
Kapaṭacaritena yāsāṁ vaiśravaṇaḥ śramaṇatāmeti.
(KV, p. 56, Canto IV, Verse 1).
5. Veśyāvacasi viśvāsī na bhavennityakaitave
Ṛṣyaśṛṅgopi niḥsaṅgaḥ śṛṅgārī veśyayā kṛtaḥ.
(CC, p. 133, verse 48).

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to maintain equilibrium between Dharma, Artha and Kāma and make efforts for the attainment of Mokṣa. The nature of this work shows that it definitely carried contemporary value. In this work also Kṣemendra does not forget to warn the people against prostitution :

Aho tṛṣṇā veśyā sakalajanatāmohanakarī
vidagdhā mugdhānāṁ harati vivaśānāṁ śamadhanam
Vipaddīkṣādakṣāsahataralatāraiḥ praṇayinī-
kaṭākṣaiḥ kūṭākṣaiḥ kapaṭakuṭilaiḥ kāmakitavaḥ[1].

Kṣemendra devotes his composition SM to a more exhaustive and comprehensive description of the snares of the prostitutes and the bawds. The prostitute named Kalāvatī and the bawd Kaṅkālī were introduced to each other by a barber named Kaṅka. This story is specially designed to show how a brothel functioned under the supervision of a bawd in those days. The barbers used to help the prostitutes in their business and the Viṭas or the rogues used to earn their livelihood by fetching in rich persons. The exploits of Kaṅkālī in deceiving people all over the country have a special significance as to how the society had a weakness for women. Besides the state officers, even the Brāhmaṇas[2], the Śrotriyas[3] or the Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the Vedas, and the merchants[4] were having relations with the prostitutes and were not even ashamed of it. Betel was served in the brothels[5]. The Oyāgas, the teachers[6], the physicians[7] and the singers[8] also enjoyed the company of the prostitutes. The picture of the droll life which Kṣemendra has painted in the darkest

1. CS, pp. 98-99, Pariccheda IV Verse 13.
2. SM, p. 40, Samaya VI, Verse 17.
3. Ibid, p. 41, Samaya VI, Verse 22.
4. Ibid, p. 41, Samaya VI, Verse 20.
5. Ibid, p. 45, Samaya VI, Verse 28.
6. Ibid, p. 41, Samaya VI, Verse 25.
7. Ibid, p. 40, Samaya VI, Verse 18.
8. Ibid, p. 40, Samaya VI, Verse 19.

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colours and has given in a story form, is to make it more effective on the mind of the society in which he lived. The poet's foremost desire is to awaken the public in general and bring them on the moral path. Many verses scattered through the story bring to light his principal aim behind this endeavour. He compares the prostitute to a cold slab of stone during autumn, an array of lamps during the day time and a used and withered garland[1]. The harlots live by falsehood and by the truth they perish in the same way as the high class women perish by liquor[2]. A merchant perishes by charity, a prostitute by truth, a teacher by his leniency and a Kāyastha by compassion[3]. The lust and intoxication she causes have been mentioned very emphatically as follows :

Saṁsakteṣu surāmayī dhanaguṇādhāneṣu lakṣmīmayī
sphītārtheṣu sudhāmayī viṣamayī niṣkrāntavitteṣu ca
Veśyā śaṅkhamayī nitāntakuṭilā sadbhāvalīneṣu yā
devānāmapi subhru mohajananī kṣīrodaveleva sā[4].

The poet has himself written about his aim in writing SM which is the guidance of the rich and enables them to protect their wealth[5].

In AKL Kṣemendra deprecates the prostitutes by pointing out their greed for possessions. Here he especially states their relations with the merchant class[6]. Pointing out that

1. Śītaśāleva śiśire dīpamāleva Vāsare
Jīrṇā nirmālyamāleva veśyā kasyopayujyate.
(SM, p. 11, Samaya II, Verse 56).
2. Asatyenaiva jīvanti veśyāḥ satyavivarjitāḥ
Etāḥ satyena naśyanti madyeneva kulāṅganāḥ.
(SM, p. 26, Samaya IV, Verse 68).
3. Dānena naśyati vaṇiṅnaśyati satyena sarvathā veśyā
Naśyati vinayena gururnaśyati kṛpayā ca kāyasthaḥ.
(SM, p. 26, Samaya IV, Verse 70).
4. SM, p. 32, Samaya IV, Verse 133.
5. Ibid, pp. 57, 58, Verses 2, 4.
6. Na gataḥ prātarāgantā prāptaḥ saṁtyajyate yadi
bhāgyairbhavati veśyānāṁ vaṇijām ca bahukrayaḥ.

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a bawd's love is only for money and not for anything else, he compares her to a king's court wherefrom some persons move out, others enter and some wait outside[1].

In DAC, Kṣemendra compares the fickleness of wealth with that of a prostitute[2]. As regards the reason for writing this work he says that the moral degradation of his kinsmen was unbearable to him and this prompted him to write this work[3]. This is more significant because the society was running amok and had transgressed the limits of sexual behaviour which resulted and threatened in its alround disintegration :

> Śaucaṁ nāsti kutaḥ paropakṛtayaḥ satyasya vārtaiva kā
> raudraḥ kṣudratayā paraṁ paradhanadrohī daridro janaḥ
> Leśenāpi sukhaṁ khapuṣpasadṛśaṁ svairāpacārāḥ striyaḥ
> saṁpūrṇaṁ yugasaṁkṣayasya purataḥ saṁlakṣyate
> lakṣaṇaṁ[4].

Thus, Kṣemendra has pointed to a growing evil which, if remained unchecked, could bring disastrous effects on the society. It was undoubtedly a bold effort on the part of Kṣemendra to attack such vile practices and to make the people conscious of a decent way of life. The popularity of his poetry is indicative of the fact that it must have had its desired effect in eradicating this nefarious social evil.

(ii) The Kāyastha Community :

The most vehement attack of Kṣemendra has been on an

> Daurbhāgyaṁ paṇyakāminyāḥ kimanyannāstyatodhikam
> tuleva kṣīṇa vaṅijaḥ śūnyāḥ śīdanti yadgṛhe.
> (AKL, p. 311, Avadāna 50, Verses 87, 92).

1. Niryāntyanye viśantyanye pratīkṣante bahiḥ pare
   Yasyāḥ sā śobhate veśyā sabhā bhūmipateriva.
   (AKL, p. 311, Avadāna 50, Verse 91).
2. DAC, p. 63, Avatārā VIII. Verse 180.
3. Svajanasthitikhinnasya puṇyāraṇyavihāriṇaḥ
   Haribhaktirasāsiktāḥ śrūyantāṁ mama sūktayaḥ.
   (DAC, p. 2, Avatāra I, Verse 14).
4. DAC, p. 4, Avatāra I, Verse 30.

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utterly demoralised section of the society known as the Kāyastha. He shows how corrupt the Kāyasthas were and how they were bringing a social dishevelment in those days. He has given a full account of their mythological origin, the artificiality in their inner and outer life and the practices of pre-marital and extra-marital relationships rampant in their families.

(*a*) *Mention of Kāyasthas in Sanskrit literature before Kṣemendra* :

Many references about the Kāyasthas are found in Sanskrit literature before Kṣemendra brought them to lime-light. Quite often one would find a mention about their mephistophelian activities of extortion and deceit, particularly their prurient character. Parāśarī gives a fanciful and humorous derivation of the word 'Kāyastha'. According to its letter, i.e., 'ka' meaning of excessive passion is conveyed which is characteristic of Kāka (crow). The Kāyastha is the writer-caste proceeding from a Kṣatriya father and a Śūdra mother. Their spirit of extortion is proverbial :

> Kāyasthenodarasthena māturmāṁsaṁ na bhakṣitam
> Dayāheturna caivātra dantābhāvo hi kāraṇam.

The verse means that the Kāyastha, while he was in his mother's womb, did not eat the flesh of his mother and it was not due to compassion but on account of his having no teeth.

Śūdraka in his Mṛcchakaṭika says that wherever a Kāyastha dwells, there even an adversary would not like to live[1]. Viśākhadatta, in Mudrārākṣasa, has also mentioned them in no better terms. In Udayanasundarīkathā, Soḍḍhala gives an elaborate description of the Kāyasthas who occupied the key posts of the revenue departments in his time and were causing the social anarchy by extracting illegal gratifications

1. Api ca bho vayasya gaṇikā hastī kāyastho bhikṣuścāto rāsabhaśca yatraite nivasanti tatra duṣṭā api na jāyante.
(Mṛcchakaṭika, Act V).

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through several ways and despoiling the society by their lecherous indulgences.

(b) *Kāyasthas as described by Kṣemendra* :

In many of his works Kṣemendra has given the description of the Kāyasthas of his time. He thereby points out the vicious atmosphere created by them in the society. In BKM he writes how the Kāyasthas terrorized the people by the cruel acts coming out of the strokes of their pens :

Helākalamasaṁcāracīṭkārakṛtalekhayā
Jaganti yairnivartyante Kāyasthāṁstānnamenna kaḥ[1].

In BhM, while enumerating the duties of a king, it is advised that he should act to eliminate the Kāyasthas[2]. NM, which is an exposition of the life of the Kāyasthas, though written when they were uprooted by the King Ananta, shows what sort of life they led in Ksemendra's time. It would have taken a considerable amount of time for King Ananta to oust them from the revenue offices they held. Despite their ouster they existed in the society and did not swerve from their hereditary path of ignoble life. Even in the works written after NM, their existence is referred to as a serious problem for the society and the same would be discussed later.

The mythological account attached to the birth of the Kāyastha presents him as the incarnation of the bursar of the demons who cried in heaven when his masters were killed by Lord Vi ṇu and Kali took pity on him and asked him to take birth on the earth providing him with a pen to work with against the gods, Brāhmaṇas and such other things as helped the gods to flourish. This satirical account of the origin of the Kāyastha is chosen by Kṣemendra to point out the inherent vices of the Kāyasthas which, amongst many others, included

1. BKM, p. 260, Lambaka IX, Verse 554.
2. Tasmātkramāgataṁ kuryādraṣṭāraṁ nṛpatirhitam
Bhavanti yadbhayātsarve Kāyastha bhinnasaṁhatāḥ.
(BhM, p. 568, Śāntiparva, Verse 351).

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the substraction of money grants to religious shrines and the torturing of the Brāhmaṇas by adopting such means as left them with no other choice except to fast.

The Kāyastha who was born on the earth along with the demons as 'Divira' per chance held the office of Gṛhakṛtyādhipati[1]-the post which was aspired by every Kāyastha, it being considered as important on account of having control of the Home department and thus providng innumerable chances of extracting money and torturing the people. He tried to cover his ruthless acts by pretending to be a real devotee of Lord Śiva in whose temple he used to go with his Kāyastha associates and make gestures like shedding tears and reciting the devotional verses[2]. While putting up such a drama he, in reality, was chiefly concerned to gather information about the number of the Brāhmanas who went on hunger-strike[3] in protest against his vile deeds and also to further the execution of other cruel deeds[4]. He used to appoint other Kāyasthas as officers under him and they acted as the repositories of all kinds of foul deeds and offered huge sums as bribes to their superior officers. These officers were Paripālaka, Lekhopādhyāya, Gañjadivira, Niyogī, Divira and Āsthānadivira.

The Kāyastha who worked as Paripālaka was supposed, by his superior officers, to possess the essential qualification of being merciless, egoistic, a liar and voracious. There could be no concession in the possession of these qualifications and one

1. NM, pp. 4-5, Parihāsa I, Veses 33-50.
2. Sa vṛtaḥ sevakaśataiḥ sadā dambhaharārcane
   Stotraṁ paṭhati hāheti kurvansāśruvilocanaḥ.
   (NM, p.4, Parihāsa I, Verse 38).
3. Hyaḥ kiyanto mayā dattā prāyasthā Vijayeśvare.
   (NM, p.4, Parihāsa I, Verse 39).
4. Prāyasthāne mṛtā bhaṭṭāḥ kṛṣyantāṁ gulphadāmabhiḥ.
   Nirdhāmadhūmakartāro grāmānyāntu niyoginaḥ.
   Sarvasvaharaṇaṁ kṛtvā vadhyā daṇḍaniṣedhinaḥ.
   (NM, p. 4, Parihāsa I, Verses 41, 42, 43).

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who lacked in any one of them was sure to be dismissed. Kṣemendra describes him as the perpetuator of atrocious acts like emptying the temples and villages of their valuables[1], slaughtering cows, murdering Brāhmaṇas and even patricide[2]. He robbed the women of their clothes and frightened the urchins[3].

Another Kāyastha officer who worked as Lekhopādhyāya is described as living in rags with his family before his appointment in this office but soon after assuming the charge became opulent and proud of his new status[4] as if the same was enjoyed by him as well as by his forefathers since times immemorial.

The Kāyastha who acted as Gañjadivira or the superintendent of finance is described as presenting a budget of fraudulent figures. He used to curtail the grants to the villages and temples and did every possible mean act to fill his pockets.

1. Vastrālaṅkāraratnādi yatkiñciddevaveśmasu
   Vidyamānamaśeṣaṁ tat kariṣye prakaṭaṁ tava,
   (NM, p. 5, Parihāsa I, Verse 53).

2. Brahmahatyā na gaṇyante govadheṣu kathaiva kā
   Prabhubhaktikṛtā yena mūlādunmūlyate janaḥ.
   Anyepi santi sarvatra tadvidhastu na labhyate
   Nītaḥ svajanako yena nidhanaṁ bandhane dhanī.
   (NM, p. 6, Parihāsa I, Verses 57, 58).

3. Sahasā hṛtavastrāṇāṁ gṛhiṇīnāṁ samāyayau
   Santrastabālakānāñca karuṇo rodanadhvaniḥ.
   (NM, p. 7, Parihāsa I, Verse 70).

4. Bahucchidraśiraḥśāṭalaṭatparyantatūstakaḥ
   Śatacakralikāsyūtamalaliptāṅgarakṣakaḥ.
   Śirṇajīrṇapaṭīguptakakṣyāniyamitāñcalaḥ
   Yācitānītasaṁśuṣkapādatravyathitaḥ khalaḥ.
   Tadgehinī śīrṇavastrakhaṇḍāvṛtakaṭītaṭā
   Kajjalāliptanāsāgrā laḍanmṛtakarṇabhūṣaṇā.
   Kṣudhitāpatyakupitā śūpārdhāvṛtamastakā
   Samutthāya saśūtkāraṁ kaṣanti bahuśaḥ sphijau.
   Ityadilekhadānena prasiddhiṁ paramāṁ gataḥ
   Socireṇabhavatpuṣṭaḥ pūrṇapāṇirmadoddhataḥ.
   (NM, pp. 7-8, Parihāsa I, Verses 72, 73, 75, 76, 81).

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In his capacity as Niyogī, the Kāyastha pretended to be a real devotee of Lord Śiva, a worshipper of Brāhmaṇas and cows and while touring a village would carry with him a number of things which would show him to be a real devotee and a pious pilgrim and then start his plundering activities by carrying away loads of commodities like ghee, honey, etc., for himself by taking undue advantage of his position[1]. Ordering confiscation of property, imprisonment of people quite innocent, punishment like caning and lashing and demolition of houses of poor villagers were deeds of his amusement. Even for a little lapse he would inflict severe punishment. His daily food consisted of meat and ghee but if a superior officer were to be present he would take a little of saltless food consisting of boiled 'Moong'[2] (Phaseolus mungo) as if to show that he was not so well off as to be able to afford better food and thereby concealed his illegal earnings.

The Kāyastha working as Grāmadivira served as a modern Paṭavārī. In this capacity also he did not lag behind in his foul plays and forged the documents to make money. Another source for his plundering activity was to misappropriate the money granted specifically for the festive occasions and other charitable purposes like giving alms to Brāhmaṇas, feeding the cows and maintenance of temples. In this pious activity of his he never failed to take the advice of his teacher, a cobbler.

The Kāyastha served as Āsthānadivira or a court clerk also. In this position his trickeries knew no bounds. He spent his nights in the brothels and would return to his work in the

1. Pañcaṣāḥ satataṁ tasya karabhā iva bhārikāḥ
Ghṛtamākṣikadīnāramaricārdrakasaindhavam.
Mudgakambalamāyūropānanmeṣavihaṅgamam
Bisadrākṣamadhughaṭākṣoṭaparyaṅkapīṭhikam.
Kāṁsyatāmrāyasānekagṛhopaskaraṇādikam
Ninyustattadaviśrāntā gṛhaṁ yaccāvadadvacaḥ.
(NM, p. 11, Parihāsa I, Verses 123-125).
2. NM, p. 11, Parihāsa I, Verse 127.

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morning under intoxication of liquor and would look for someone who would give him a heavy bribe[1]. He would not even stand the prosperity of his son-in-law and would look for the opportunity to take him into his clutches.

In his KV Kṣemendra has further given a vivid description. The delusion which takes away the wisdom of everybody is told to reside firmly in the mouths and writings of the Kāyasthas[2]. The causes of the social disorder in his times were the Kāyasthas :

Kalamāgranirgatamasī binduvyājena sāñjanāśrukaṇaiḥ
Kāyasthalunṭhyamānā roditi khinneva rājyaśrīḥ[3].

The royal goddess of wealth weeps and her tears mixed with collyrium roll down in the form of the ink drops coming out of the pens, being looted by the Kāyasthas. This shows that this writer-caste was snatching away the peace and brought miseries to the people by the deceitful writings of documents. They are stated to be possessed of various tricks of concalment, heterogeneous and brutal mentality capable of converting the fullness into nothingness by removing a line in their writing[4] Kṣemendra enumerates their known arts of deception. The other hidden arts are known to Kali or the god of death.[5] The arts which the Kāyasthas employ are :

1. Utthāya veśyāśayanātprabhāte madyaghūrṇitaḥ
Dhanārthī divirāḥ śastamukhaṁ dṛṣṭum pratīkṣate.
(NM, p. 24, Parihāsa II, Verse 122).
2. Moho nāma janānāṁ sarvahāro harati buddhim vādau
gūḍhataraḥ sa ca nivasati Kāyasthānāṁ mukhe ca lekhe ca.
(KV, p. 59, Canto V, Verse 1).
3. KV, p. 60, Canto V, Verse 7.
4. Ete hi citraguptāścitradhiyo guptakāriṇo divirāḥ
rekhāmātravināśātsahitaṁ kurvanti ye rahitam.
(KV, p. 60, Canto V, Verse 11).
5. Loke kalāḥ prasiddhāḥ svalpatarāḥ saṁcaranti divirāṇām
gūḍhakalāḥ kila teṣāṁ jānāti Kaliḥ kṛtānto vā.
(KV, p. 60, Canto V, Verse 12).

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Vakrali pinyāsakalā sakalēṅkanimilanakalā ca
satatapraveśasaṅgrahalokakalā vyayavivardhanakalā ca.
Grāhyapariccheḍakalā deyadhanādānakāraṇakalā ca
śeṣasya vivekakalā saṅkalitārāśisarvabhakṣaṇakalā ca.
Utpannagopanakalā naṣṭaviśīrṇapradarśanakalā ca
Krayamāṇairbharaṇakalā yojanacaryādibhiḥ kṣayakalā ca.
Niḥśeṣabhūrja dāhādāgamanāśaśca paryante
yena vinā dhanahārī bhūrjagrahaṇe nirālokaḥ[1].

To use negation every time is the 'siddhamantra' for them, they know every from of delusion and fully know how retrenchment is effected[2]. The Kāyastha does not leave his crooked art of the destruction of the people even when nothing is left of him but his bones. To elucidate this Kṣemendra gives a very interesting story. In the days of yore a gambler who had lost his wealth in gambling and who was abandoned by his kinsmen, reached Ujjain and started worshipping Lord Śiva in a solitary temple with sincere devotion. After a considerable time, Lord Śiva, pleased by his firm devotion, granted him a boon, but one of the skulls He wore, interrupted and prayed the Lord not to give any boon to the gambler. Lord Śiva had to stay the boon. When the gambler went to have a bath, Lord Śiva asked the skull to explain the reason of the interruption. It submitted that in distress alone the people

1. KV, p. 60, Canto V, Verses 13-16).
2. Kūṭasthāḥ Kāyasthāḥ sarvanakāreṇa siddhamantreṇa
gurava iva viditamāyā vṛtticchedaṁ kṣaṇena kurvanti.
(KV, p. 60, Canto V, Verse 18).
(Dambha or vanity is said to reside in the face of Adhikaraṇabhaṭṭa and in the heart of Niyogī :—
Tūrṇaṁ sahasrabhāgairbhuvanatale saṁvibhajya bhūtani
Mūrtaḥ satataṁ nivasati dambho vadanedhikaraṇabhaṭṭānām.
Guruhṛdayamaviśadagre bālakahṛdayaṁ tapasvihṛdayam ca
Kuṭilaṁ niyogihṛdayaṁ dīkṣitahṛdayaṁ svayaṁ dambhaḥ.
It may be noted that these offices were held by the Kāyasthas).

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start worshipping the God and if the gambler gets the boon he would go away and discontinue worshipping and therefore, it is worthwhile to keep him worshipping by not granting him any boon. Lord Śiva, amused by this reasoning, queried the skull to give its own antecedents. It said that it was the skull of a Kāyastha born in Magadha and having performed good deeds in his life-time left the body in the Ganges and thus attained a place in the skull-garland of the Lord. Hearing this, Lord Śiva smiled and bestowed the boon upon the gambler who had by now retnrned after taking the bath, and promptly removed that Kāyastha skull from His garland. The story is significant that a Kāyastha cannot see other's welfare and that even his bones would try to bring about undesirable result.

CS mentions how a king's wealth is exhausted by the Kāyasthas and others :

Gurugaṇakairabudhānām kṣayacaturaiścauramūṣakairvaṇijām,
Kāyasthagāyanagaṇairbhūmibhujāṁ bhujyate lakṣmīh.[1]

The officials like Āsthānabhatta, Adhikarī, Adhikarī, and Divira, who were no other than the Kāyasthas have found special mention in SM because they used to force their way into the brothels and the prostitutes had to please them. Their atrocious behaviour has also been mentioned here.[2]

AKL also describes the Kāyasthas and their craze for occupying important posts, pronouncing abusive language and loosing their temper.[3]

1. CS, p. 91, Pariccheda II, Verse 14.
2. Ayaṁ janasthānavināśahetuḥ ketuḥ kharakrūratayā prasiddhaḥ
Āsthānabhaṭṭaściṭivatsanāmā prayāti yugyena viśīrṇavastraḥ.
Uccaiścirātsaudhaniṣaktadṛṣṭiraśvādhirūḍhaḥ kamalodhikārī
Kalāvati tvāmayamīkṣamāṇaḥ śūlārpitākāratulāṁ vibharti.
(SM, p. 41, Samaya VI, Verse 26, 27).
3. Sutīkṣṇaḥ kṣmāpālaḥ kharamukharamūrkhaḥ parijanaḥ
kadarthāścāmātyāḥ kaṭukapaṭakauṭilyapaṭavaḥ

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In DAC while enumerating the signs of the Kali Age, Kṣemendra points out the Kāyasthas who were making money by unfair means without the king's knowledge. This shows that even in the even in the year 1066 A.D. the condition of the society could not improve and chaos prevailed due to the anti-social activities of the Kāyasthas[1].

Kṣemendra has also given a picture of the private life of the Kāyastha who led an ignoble life. Before riches could be dreamt of by him, his life was wretched. But, at the first sight of his ill-gotten money, pride finds its abode in his house and specially his wife leaves all decorum and starts getting romantic She looks into the mirror all the time and thinks herself no less than a queen[2]. She always watches the royal road to find a target for her prurient desires. She twists the limbs of her body to attract the attention of the people and shows her romantic attitude in various ways. She is marked by many whoremongers and a voluptuous Maṭhadaiśika develops intimacy with her through a female mendicant and ultimately many fornicators commit adultery with her. She is not ashamed of this and always wants her husband to be on official tours. When the husband remains at home she pretends to be ill. The Kāyastha is not at all perturbed to see her ill health. The

Padas hāḥ kāyasthā viṣamamukharo āḥ prakupitāḥ
katham soyam sahyaḥ kṛpaṇadalano dāruṇagaṇaḥ.
(AKL, p. 387, Avadāna 64, Verse 21).

1. Alakṣyam bhakṣyantyeva kṣitīśānām divāniśam
samudgam koṣamakhilam kāyasthā vaḍavāgnayaḥ.
Gāyanakṣapitā lakṣmīrdasyunirdalitā diśaḥ
Kāyasthaduḥsthā pṛthivī rājñamajñāvṛtāḥ sabhāḥ.
(DAC, p. 160, Avatāra X, Verses 12, 13).

2. Acirādatha saṁvṛtte gṛhe tasya mahādhane
Alaṅkṛtā mālyavatī tāmbūladalanavratā.
Gṛhiṇī darpaṇaparā rājamārgāvalokinī
Babhāra tadvirahitā bhūpālalalanāmadam.
(NM, p. 13, Parihāsa I, Verses 142, 143).

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neighbours call a physician and an astrolonger to cure her. They are no better than rogues and are out to cheat and seduce. The knowledge of the unchaste behaviour of the Kāyastha has already been conveyed. The sister of the Kāyastha has been mentioned as a prostitute[1].

References to the Kāyasthas in most of Kṣemendra's works show that life was not smooth in those days due to the malicious practices of a section of the people and one had to struggle very hard for existence.

(iii) *The Goldsmiths :*

Kṣemendra informs us about the goldsmiths who formed a separate class in society and cheated the people through numerous ways. The ornaments of gold were very much preferred by the people and for their preparation they had to depend upon the goldsmiths. These goldsmiths were invariably in the habit of deceiving the people by alloying their gold and pocketing a considerable portion of the pure metal. Gold ornaments apart from being objects of decoration were also considered the best from of wealth and protection in uneven circumstances.

Sāraṁ sakaladhanānāṁ saṁpatsu vibhūṣaṇaṁ vipadi rakṣā
Ete haranti pāpāḥ satataṁ tejaḥ paraṁ hema[2].

The sixty-four tricks of filching gold[3], which they employed have been enumerated by Kṣemendra to expose them and to show what misfortune the society had to face at the hands of this vicious class.

(iv) *The Singers* :

The lovers of music in the society patronised a class of singers who under the veil of their profession invariably cheated

1. NM, p. 35, Parihāsa III, Verse 95.
2. KV, p. 68, Canto VIII, Verse 2.
3. Ibid, p. 68, Canto VIII, Verses 4-18.

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the public[1]. Their pretentions[2] were too many; their songs began with 'hā hā', attracted the people and ultimately relieved them of their capital :

Tamasi varākaścauro hāhākāreṇa yāti santrastaḥ
Gāyanacauraḥ prakaṭaṁ hāhākṛtvaiva harati sarvasvam[3].

There were groups of singers in those days. They hardly knew the art of music but carried it on just to make money. These earnings were wasted in gambling. Kṣemendra has given a mythological account of their birth. They were the hoards of goblins who were instructed by Indra to go to the earth and rob the kings and the public of their wealth so that they might not be able to perform sacrifices and such other religious rites which could help them attain the status of Indra. By this account Kṣemendra has warned the people against these singers who could enter through the ears, steal the heart and finally the wealth :

Etepi karṇavivaraiḥ praviśya gītacchalena bhūpānām
Sahasā hṛdayaṁ karṇapiśācā mahāghorāḥ[4].

Along with these cheats, the poet has further warned the people against some other undesirable elements like the actors, dancers, 'cakracaras', 'kuśīlavas', bards and 'viṭas' whose activities were rampant in his time[5].

1. Artho nāma janānāṁ jīvitamakhilakriyākalāpasya
Tamapi harantyatidhūrttāḥ ślakṣṇagalā gāyanā loke.
(KV, p. 65, Canto VII, Verse 1).
2. Ghaṭapaṭaśakaṭaskandhā bahuḍimbhā muktakeśakalāpāḥ
Ete yonipiśācā bhūpabhujo gāyanā loke.
(KV, p. 66, Canto VII, Verse 3).
3. KV, p. 66, Canto VII, Verse 4.
4. KV, p. 67, Canto VII, Verse 23.
5. Naṭanartakacakracarāḥ kuśīlavāścāraṇā viṭāścaiva
Aiśvaryaśāliśalabhāścaranti tebhyaḥ śriyaṁ rakṣet.
(KV, p. 67, Canto VII, Verse 25).

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(v) *The Physicians* :

The account of the physicians, as given by Kṣemendra, shows how unqualified persons were engaged in carrying on the medical profession. These so-called physicians hardly knew anything about human anatomy or the causes of ailments and their methodical cure. In most cases they played with the lives of the patients and tried several medicines on them without having any knowledge of their effects. Finding this profession as a means to approach women, some of the rogues took to it with the object of making money and fulfilling their lewd desires with the women patients. In DU the physician is described as a heartless crook who has not even heard the name of the celebrated physician Caraka. He is further described as always alarming the patients by suggesting that their end was near, thus expediting their dispatch by causing incurable delirium. He falls like lightning upon the wealth of his patients[1]. Such quacks are depicted as the representatives of the God of Death[2] carrying long lists of medicines with their code names, visiting many houses and wiping the sweat from their brows all the time in the sole effort of furthering their business. Their concern is not the cure of the ailments but all-out efforts to relieve the patients of their wealth. Their eyes are always on the money and their only wish is that some suffering may befall on the people in epidemic form which may occur during the festival of the town, during journeys, or by overeating in marriage feast, so that the windfall of money may come to

1. Hṛdayavihīno dhūrtaḥ saṁgraharahitaḥ sa vañcako vaidyaḥ
Vakti na doṣāndoṣī Carakaścarakaṁ na jānāti.
Śabdāṭopairbhayakṛdduḥsahatarasaṁnipātahatalokaḥ
Vaidyo vidudivograḥ patati nidhāneṣu sadaneṣu.
(DU, p. 29, Upadeśa VIII, Verses 34, 35).

2. Vahannauṣadhasaṅketanāmasaṁyogacīrikam
Kṛtāntādhikṛtasyāgrādyaḥ prāyastha ivāgataḥ.
(NM, p. 20, Parihāsa II, Verse 70).

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them[1]. The instructions given to a female patient by such a quack that she cannot bear fasting, the heavy food is unsuitable for stomach-ache but at the same time assuring her that she should take curd mixed with ghee and sugar for regaining her proper senses and humour[2], show that the physicians were unworthy of trust and brought the noble profession to misrepute. In KV also such charlatans are mentioned as responsible for manslaughter by administering untested medicines. They were thus intolerable elements in the society and were feared by all[3].

(vi) *The Astrologers* :

The astrologers appear to have surpassed the physicians in cheating the simple people of Kāśmīra. The science of astrology was unknown to them, but by the jugglery of their words they made worthless and bogus predictions about the health and wealth of the people. NM atd KV both expose such astrologers who knew nothing about the movements of the planets and their effects on the lives of the people living on earth[4]. In

1. Bhrānto gṛhaśataṁ tūrṇaṁ bhārākrānta ivocchvasan
Lalāṭasvedasalilaṁ pāṇinā vikṣipan muhuḥ.
Nagarotsavayātrāsu vivāhekṣatibhojanāt
Janatā yāti yanmāndyaṁ tadvaidyasya śaneḥ phalam.
(NM, p. 20, Parihāsa II, Verses 69, 75).

2. Laṅghanaṁ sahate naiṣā hitaṁ śūle na bṛṁhaṇam
Karotu mama cintāsu sarvāhāraṁ mayā saha.
Jaḍā hyasyāḥ sthitā buddhirdhātuśca viṣamaḥ sthitaḥ
Tasmātsnigdhaṁ dadhi pūrvamatra yojyaṁ saśarkaram.
(NM, pp. 20-21, Parihāsa II, Verses 79, 80).

3. Ete he dehadāhādvirahā iva duḥsahā bhiṣajaḥ
Grīṣmadivasā ivo rā bahutṛṣṇāḥ śoṣayantyeva.
Vividhauṣadhaparivartairyogairjijñāsayā svavidyāyāḥ
Hatvā nṛṇāṁ sahasraṁ paścādvaidyo bhavetsiddhaḥ.
(KV, p. 70, Canto IX, Verses 3, 4).

4. Grahanakṣatratārāṇāṁ saṁkhyānepyakṛtaśramaḥ
Ātītānāgatajñānadambhāya malapātrabhṛt.
NM, p. 21, Parihāsa II, Verse 83).

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order to impress their clients they would make a farce of drawing a 'Rāśicakra' on the ground and would count on their fingers and then predict something which would please the questioner or that he or she would suffer from some eye disease or some other such general trouble within three years or so and therefore some sacrifice was necessary to be performed to pacify the evil effect of a particular planet[1]. He would pretend to be willing to stake his meagre wealth for the sake of his client and then pounce upon his money by drawing a herring across the trail[2]. To predict rainfall correctly he would gather the information from the boatmen beforehand and then pretend that the prediction was the credit of his own mathematical calculations[3].

(vii) *The Merchants* :

Business was carried on by the Vaiśyas or the merchant class. They pitilessly cheated the public and were very crooked.[4] Besides these, there were retail merchants like the druggists, the alchemists[5] and other street-vendors who dealt in the

1. Vinyasya rāśicakraṁ grahacintāṁ nāṭayanmukhavikāraiḥ
Anuvadati cirādgaṇako yatkiñcit prāśnikenoktam.
(KV, p. 70, Canto IX, Verses 5).
Tava varṣatrayīmadhye kaścidvittavyayo bhavet
Jvaraśca netrapīḍā ca lābhāṁśopyavicintitaḥ.
(NM, p. 21, Parihāsa II, Verse 84).
2. Prathamaṁ svavittamakhilaṁ kanakārthī bhasmasātkṛtvā
Paścātsadhanānrasikānvināśayatyeṣa varṇikānipuṇaḥ.
(KV, p. 70, Canto IX, Verse 7).
3. Jyotiḥśāstravide tasmai namastu jñānacakṣuṣe
Varṣaṁ pṛcchtyavarṣaṁ vā dhīvarānyo vinaṣṭadhīḥ.
(NM, p. 21, Parihāsa II, Verse 82).
4. Vaśyāsya krauryavakratvakārkaśyaiḥ krakacopamāḥ
Saralacchedino vaiśyā vairasmaraṇatatparāḥ.
Jīvyate kālakūṭena jīvyate khadirāgninā
Jīvyate saṁnipātena na tu vaiśyena vairiṇā.
(DAC, p. 161, Avatāra X, Verses 15, 18).
5. DU, pp. 26-27, Upadeśa VIII, Verses 20-22.

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fictitious and adulterated articles. Such articles included hair-growing medicine for bald-heads, invigourating medicines for regaining youth and ointments for beautifying the body[1]. Their cheating tactics have been well described by Kṣemendra in KV. The commodities supplied by the street-vendors were not only impure but even contained pieces of glass in eatables[2].

(viii) *The Wandering Mendicants* :

Kṣemendra has exposed the wandering mendicants who pretended to be 'Siddhas' and 'Yogīs' and deceived the innocent people by luring them to the gain of things impossible things. These so-called Siddhas or Yogīs would say that by smearing one self with the dung of a black horse one could see the palaces of Indra in the sky and with the fat of a frog a man would be lovable even to the celestial nymphs[3]. Some of these Yogīs deceived women by teaching them some spell or instructing them to put on some specific herb for attracting and winning the loved one[4]. Some of these mendicants simulated the visiting professors, imparted initiation and through a little thaumaturgy deceived the simple people and robbed them of their money and sometimes eloped with their

1. Śatavedhī siddho me sahasravedhī rasopi niryātaḥ
Iti vadati dhātuvādī nagno malinaḥ kṛśo rūkṣaḥ.
Tāmraghaṭopamaśīrṣo dhūrto hi rasāyanī jarājīrṇaḥ
Keśotpādanakathayā khalvāṭānaiva muṣṇāti.
(KV, p. 70, Canto IX, Verses 8, 9).

2. Rathyāvaṇijaḥ pāpāḥ svayametya gṛheṣu yatprayacchanti
Tatsvakarārpitamakhilaṁ bhavati paraṁ kācaśakalamapi.
(KV, p. 73, Canto IX, Verse 41).

3. Kṛṣṇāśvaśakṛtavartyā paśyati gagane Surendrabhavanani
Maṇḍūkavasālipto bhavati pumānvallabhopsarasām.
(KV, p. 71, Canto IX, Verse 12).

4. Vaśyakarṣaṇayogī pathi pathi rakṣāṁ dadāti nārīṇām
Ratikāmatantramūlaṁ mulaṁ mantraṁ na jānāti.
(KV, p. 71, Canto IX, Verse 14).

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wives[1]. Some of them pretended to be palmists and would stare at the palm and look specially for the line of wealth and fickleness in the husbands, use the opportunity to press the palms of noble women and thus deceive them[2].

(ix) *Widows* :

The description of the widows given by Kṣemendra shows that they were mostly leading an immoral life[3]. They were employed to help the priests in their sacrifices. It has been mentioned that the widows lured the young men, the simple Brāhmaṇas, the ascetics and the sages by their inviting looks and provocative actions[4]. They dallied with the Brahmacārins, often invited them for meals and took them to sacred places with indecent motives. They also sported with the priests under whom they worked[5].

(x) *The Priests* :

The priest had gained a considerable importance in the

1. Bahavo arthyagauravo laghudīkṣāḥ svalpayogamutpādya
Vyādha iva vardhante mugdhānāṁ draviṇadāraharāḥ.
(KV, p. 71, Canto IX, Verse 15)
2. Hastasthā dhanarekhā vipulatarāyāḥ patiśca calacittāḥ
Mṛdnāti kulavadhūnāmityuktvā kamalakomala pāṇim.
(KV, p. 71, Canto IX, Verse 16).
3. NM, pp. 28-30, Parihāsa III, Verses 21-45.
4. Raṇḍā vilokya taruṇaṁ karoti bhrakuṭiṁ mṛṣā
Kaṇṭhagṛhaṁ cintayantī manasā tu prahṛṣyati.
Śrāddheṣu mugdhaviprāṇāṁ jaṭināñca tapasvinām
Vaśe patati dhanyānāṁ raṇḍā rasataraṅginī.
(NM, p. 29, Parihāsa III, Verses 30, 35).
5. Udañcadgurudaṇḍasya caṇḍasya brahmacāriṇaḥ
Raṇḍā dadāti satataṁ śraddhayā mṛtabhojanam.
Tameva tīrthayātrāsu paścānnayati sarvadā
Vahantī khaḍgapātreṇa balidhūpasamudgikām.
(NM, p. 30, Parihāsa III, Verses 37, 38).
Śrāddhe bharturavidyāṁ tyaktvā sā bhaṭṭabhojakaśrāddham
Bhaktyā mṛtakoddhāre jaghanaṁ haste guroḥ kṣipati.
(DU, p. 32, Upadeśa VIII, Verse 50).

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society especially amongst the Kāyasthas. In NM Kṣemendra describes him as very corrupt, voluptuous to a degree and always misguiding his clients. He is also mentioned as instigating the Kāyastha, his staunch follower, to commit crimes[1]. He acted as a teacher to the widowed sister of the Kāyastha, the prostitute, the wealthy men, the country surgeon and an idiotic eye-specialist who consulted him for success in his vicious deeds. He invariably prescribed a big sacrifice to be performed for the fulfilment of every kind of desire so that he may get a chance to enjoy their wealth and women[2]. Faith in these priests was so common that they had easy access to the noble families and finding an opportunity would seduce the noble women. The path of virtue having been left once, these women dallied with such priests and neglected their husbands[3].

(xi) *The Gamblers* :

Gambling was common in the time of Kṣemendra. In order to win a game the gamblers resorted to 'mantras' or incantation[4], the expert guidance of a teacher was much sought after by the gamblers and only that expert received recognition who could train them in the art of winning the games. The tricks of the dice and of the hands were employed to deceive the opponent[5].

1. NM, pp. 30-31, Parihāsa III, Verses 46-53.
2. NM, pp. 23–27, Parihāsa III, Verses 1-20.
3. Paśusaṁsaparśādvimukhī samayavihīnasya gehinī bhartuḥ
   Āyāti sadā kṛtvā gurusuratapavitramātmānam.
   Kharatarapṛṣṭhakṛṣṭataṭamantharagamanā gṛhānetya.
   Pādāghātaih patnī hanti patiṁ bhojanasya cirāt.
   (DU, pp. 24-25, Upadeśa VIII, Verses 9, 10).
4. Śvetārkākṛtigaṇapatimantrārthī kitavacakravijayāya
   Kitavaḥ śapharīmaṇḍakasindūrakaro guruṁ yāti.
   (DU, p. 27, Upadeśa VIII, Verse 23).
5. Akṣavyājair vividhairgaṇanāhastādilāghavairnipuṇāḥ
   Dhūrtāścaranti gūḍhaṁ prasiddha kitavā videśeṣu.
   (KV, p. 72, Canto IX, Verse 26).

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(xii) *The Misers* :

Kṣemendra has painted a humorous picture of the misers of his time[1]. they were the hoarders of wealth and often brought an artificial dearth of money and thus threatened the economic breakdown of the society. To store wealth by whatever means was the chief concern of these misers. A sketch of the miser as drawn by Kṣemendra is that he saves money by foregoing all worldly pleasures. He lets the hair on his head and face grow lest he may be required to pay the barber, avoids taking bath to save expenditure on cosmetics, takes the coarsest quality of food and that too without salt, to save as much as he can[2]. The urgency of expenditure is a notion quite foreign to him. His desperate effort to amass the wealth and the fact that he keeps his eyes open to protect it indicates his efforts to attain the position of Śukra, the one-eyed teacher of the demons[3]. He puts on the same garments which were once used by his grandfather, uses the towel which belonged to his grand-grandfather and keeps the new garments untouched[4]. Festive occasions or sacred days have nothing to do with him and he makes his wife eat unsalted food[5]. On death anniversary of his father or on the national festivals he will simulate to be impure on account of the death of somebody or pretend to be

1. DU, pp. 3-6, Upadeśa II, Verses 1-36.
   DD, pp. 74-76, Vicāra II, Verses 10-36.
2. Kadaryaścarmavasano rūkṣosnsānāśsadā jaṭī
   Malena śyāmalagalaḥ śūlī vilavāṇāśanāt.
   (DU, p. 4, Upadeśa II, Verse 9).
3. Kāryapīḍānirodhepi nārthaṁ muñcati saṅgrahaḥ
   Saṁcayeṣvekadṛṣṭiśca kadaryaḥ Śukratāṁ gataḥ.
   (DU, p. 4, Upadeśa II, Verse 10).
4. Paṭī pitāmahakrītā tatpūrvāptaśca śāṭakaḥ
   Divyavastrasya lubdhasya kṣīyate na yugairapi.
   (DU, p. 4, Upadeśa II, Verse 14).
5. Naṣṭototsavasya lubdhasya tyaktapuṇyadinasthiteḥ
   Aḍṛṣṭalavaṇā bhāryā prātiveśyairnimantryate,
   (DU, p. 4, Upadeśa II, Verse 15).

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suffering from fever so that he could avoid the expenditure incumbent on him[1]. He does not enquire of the welfare of his guest or relative who comes to visit, nor does he hear when asked about his own welfare fearing that he may be required to invite the enquirer to dinner. At such delicate junctures he would pick up a quarrel with his wife and under this pretext keep a fast[2]. He abandons all kinds of entertainment[3] and for his gain he bows down even before a 'caṇḍāla'[4]. He very much wishes for disasters like droughts, excess of untimely rain, famine or such other calamities so that he may make money out of the grain stored by him[5]. This ridicule of the miser is very severe and sarcastic. The concept of social life in Kṣemendra's mind was very high, he painted its real truth by occasional sarcasmand left it open for the readers to gain by it.

(xiii) *Other Rogues* :

Apart from the anti-social elements discussed above, Kṣemendra describes a few more who, by changing their forms and passing for dumb and deaf, deceived the people in many ways. These included the prostitutes, besmearing themselves

1. Pituḥ pitṛdine lubdho deśotsavadineṣu ca
   Mṛtakāśaucamācaṣṭe jvaravyājaṁ karoti vā.
   (DU, p. 5, Upadeśa II, Verse 17).
2. Kadaryaḥ svajanaṁ dṛṣṭvā yadṛcchopanataṁ gṛhe
   Karoti dārakalahavyājenāśanavratam.
   Kadaryaḥ kuśalapraśnaṁ na karoti śṛṇoti vā
   Abhyāgatasya sāyāhne paścādbhojanaśaṅkayā.
   (DU, p. 5, Upadeśa II, Verses 18, 19).
3. Gītādudvijate sparśaṁ necchati dveṣṭi bhojanam
   Vimukhaḥ saurabhe rūpelubdhaḥ sarvendriyojjhitaḥ.
   (DU, p. 5, Upadeśa II, Verse 20).
4. Caṇḍālasyāpi sāhāyye dṛṣṭvā lābhalavodgatim
   Caraṇau cūṣati ciraṁ kadaryaḥ kāryagauravāt.
   (DU, p. 5, Upadeśa II, Verse 21).
5. Nṛtyatyavṛṣṭiṣu purā hyativṛṣṭiṣu nṛtyati
   Durbhikṣopaplavākāṅkṣī kadaryo dhānyagauravat.
   (DU, p. 6, Upadeśa II, Verse 34).

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with ashes, old female mendicants and courtesans feigning to be haunted by some evil spirit which gave them power to do any impossible thing and thus, making the people believe they possessed super-human power, duped, especially, the noble-women of their wealth and character[1]. Some idiot was cheated by a rogue saying that a rich young widow longed for a divine paramour like him[2]. The other would coin a story that he saw in a dream the Goddess of Wealth with a lotus in her hand entering the house and saying that she would be pleased if the householder fasted for a month and gave away his belongings to the way in sheep's clothing. By such tricks the rogues cheated the simple people belonging to every house[3].

(C) *The Markets* :

Kāśmīra of Kṣemendra's time had well organised markets where the merchants carried on their business[4]. A description of rich shopping centres is also found in SM :

> Eṣa sphītadhanasya lobhavasateḥ pāpasya mūrtispṛśaḥ
> Śaṅkhākhyasya mahārghahaṭṭavaṇijaḥ Paṅkābhidhānaḥ sutaḥ[5].

1. Bhasmasmerā veśyā vṛddhāḥ śramaṇāḥ sadaivatā gaṇikāḥ
   Etāḥ kulanārīṇāṁ caranti dhanaśīlahāriṇyaḥ.
   (KV, p. 71, Canto IX, Verse 23).

2. Vidhavā taruṇī sadhanā vāñchati divyaṁ bhavadvidhaṁ ramaṇam
   Dhūrto jaḍamityuktvā sarvasvaṁ tasya bhakṣayati.
   (KV, p. 72, Canto IX, Verse 24).

3. Svapne mayābjahastā dṛṣṭā śrīstvadgṛhaṁ praviṣṭā sā
   Māsopavāsatuṣṭā devī śrīḥ sādarā prāha.
   Madbhaktaste dāsyati sarvaṁ tattvaṁ mayā labdhaḥ
   Ityuktvāsaralānāṁ vilasanti gṛhe gṛhe dhūrtāḥ.
   (KV, p. 73, Canto IX, Verses 44, 45).

4. Prātarvicintya yuktiṁ sā gatvā haṭṭabhāṇḍaśālāgram
   Kāmijanakasya vaṇijaḥ spītārthasamṛddhimadrākṣīt.
   (SM, p. 51, Samaya VIII, Verse 51).

5. SM, p. 42, Samaya VI, Verse 31.

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(D) *Trade Relations* :

So far as the trade relations of Kāśmīra are concerned, Kṣemendra has mentioned about China silk being used by the people[1] and this shows that the country had trade relations with China for the import of silk. The indigenous production of salt[2] was also carried on in those days but there is no reference to its export to any particular country. It is ascertainable that friendly relations did exist with states like Kāmboja, Gauḍa, Aṅga and Vaṅga[3].

(E) *Belief in the Occult Sciences* :

DU, NM and SM have references to the people's belief in the occult sciences like witch-craft, etc. Women specially, are shown to have faith in such sciences. Kṣemendra mentions an old man who wanted to make his young wife agreeable through 'Vājīkaraṇa'[4]. To ward off the evil spirits amulets were used by the prostitutes[5]. The Brāhmaṇas performed 'Gṛhaśānti' to keep away evil from the homes[6].

1. Udyānalīlāgamane niśāyāṁ suniścite mallikayārjunasya
   Kṛtaḥ prabhāte navacīnavastradānaṁ vinā paśya muhūrtavighnaḥ.
   (SM, p. 40, Samaya VI, Verse 16).
   SM, p. 46, Samaya VII, Verse 48.
2. SM. p. 14, Samaya II, Verse 91.
3. SM, p. 15, Samaya II, Verses 103, 104.
4. Vṛddhasya vṛṣyairāhārairvājīkaraṇamicchataḥ
   Atīsāraiḥ savamanairnaṣṭā puṣṭistrivārṣikī.
   (DU, p. 22, Upadeśa VII, Verse 21).
   Ayañca taruṇībhāryo vaṇi ;vṛddho mahādhanaḥ
   Maithune śaktidāridrayādvājīkaraṇamicchati.
   (NM, p. 32, Parihāsa III. Verse 64).
5. Raktacchāyā pāṇḍumukhī prasavaiḥ kṛśatāṁ gatā
   Sā gurūnsūtrakaṁ rakṣāṁ yācate bhūtaśaṅkayā.
   Mastake bhujayoḥ kaṇṭhe jaturakṛāśatānvitā
   Bhūtavitrāsajananī sā bhūtabalimicchati.
   (DU, p. 9, Upadeśa III, Verses 38, 39).
6. Ratiśarmā dvijanmāyaṁ gaṇikāgrahaśāntikṛta.
   (SM, p. 46, Samaya VII, Verse 39).

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(F) *Marriages* :

The status of daughters was considered lower than that of the sons. Naturally, therefore, they did not occupy an important place in the family and were regarded as a burden. To have sons instead of daughters was considered a good fortune[1]. The people always had the fear that daughters would stain the family reputations if they ever chose to engage in pre-marital relations and therefore it was a common feature to marry a girl with an old man in the absence of a suitable match. Kṣemendra has severely criticised[2] the marriage of a young girl to an old man. This feature has been considered by him as itself a stain to the society and in DU he has ridiculed such marriages with severe sarcasm and contempt[3]. He has pitied the fate of those girls who are married to old men and has said :

Māśrauṣaṁ māpi kvādrākṣaṁ nindyaṁ sarvāpadāṁ padam
Sthaviraṁ taruṇībhāryaṁ veśyāsaktaṁ ca nirdhanam[4].

Inter-caste marriages had also started taking place. The lower castes preferred high caste spouses. In DAC it has been mentioned that the Vaiśyas had marriage relations with the Brāhmaṇas[5].

1. Cintā mūrtimatī kanyā kasya prīṇāti mānasam.
(BKM, p. 165, Lambaka VII, Guccha I, Verse 91)
Kanyā śokakarāṇāṁ buddhivihīnonukamyānām.
(KV, p. 78, Canto X, Verse 31).
Kanyāvihīnāni kulāni puṇyairbhavanti mānyānyabhimānabhājām
Ayācyayāñcaiva sukhaṁ kṣaṇena kulaṁ hi kanyā malinīkaroti.
(AKL, p. 561, Avadāna 106, Verse 9).
2. Vṛddhasyeva daridrasya taruṇī rūpiṇī vadhūḥ.
(BhM, p. 712, Mausalaparva, Verse 51).
3. DU, pp. 20-23, Upadeśa VII.
4. DU, p. Upadeśa VII, Verse 29.
5. Nirmālyamalināṁ jātiṁ varjanti śanaih śanaiḥ
Vaiśyā vipravivāhena brāhmaṇyābhiniveśinaḥ.
(DAC, p. 161, Avatāra X, Verse 16).

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Widow marriages were also common. In SM the bawd Kaṅkāli is stated to have married more than once, pretending to be a widow each time. Such marriages were found to be common amongst the merchant class.

(G) *Religion* :

Śaivism and Buddhism were the chief religious faiths followed in the society. Vaiṣṇavism, however, was also gaining ground because the Śaiva teachers and the Buddhist monks instead of following the path of religion showed a bent towards corruption. In DU and NM, Kṣemendra has given the description of the Śaiva teachers who were getting voluptuous. They carried on illicit relations even with the wives of their pupils. They nurtured lasciviousness, ire, jealousy, covetousness capriciousness and deviated from the righteous path[1]. They also had liaisons with the prostitutes and enjoyed drinks in their company. Kṣemendra's satire is very significant when he says :

Kim dharmo yatra no raṇḍā dhik sukhaṁ raṇḍayā vinā
Raṇḍāhīnostu mā mokṣaḥ prauḍhairityuditaṁ viṭaiḥ[2].

The changing of cults amongst the Śaiva teacher was another factor which stood as a barrier in the development of religions :

Sobhūtpūrvataraṁ Bauddhastato dambhāya vaiṣṇavaḥ
Rakṣārthamatha bhāryayā jātakaulāgamādaraḥ[3].

1. Rāgadveṣasamākulamugramahāmohalobhadambhabhayam
Gurumapi lāghavahetuṁ bhavamiva bahuvibhramaṁ vande.
Guṇarahito rutakārī śiṣyavadhūnāṁ sadā gururgaditaḥ
Dīnārakṣayakaraṇāddīkṣetyuktā kṛtā tena.
(DU, p. 23, Upadeśa VIII, Verses 2, 3).
2. NM, p. 29, Parihāsa III, Verse 29.
3. Ibid, p. 22, Parihāsa II, Verse 101.

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(H) *Economic Condition* :

The development of a society is conditioned by its economic progress. Kāśmīra of Kṣemendra's time had a tottering economy and the growing tendency of cheating was the obvious result. To earn a living one would not hesitate to employ fraud. The abject poverty had demoralised the common public. The only people who thrived were either those who accepted illegal gratifications or the scoundrels who hoodwinked the simple people and extracted their money[1]. The dearth of money led to the commission of a number of crimes like defrauding the travellers,[2] counterfeiting of coins,[3] and bribery. Besides the Kāyasthas, the ministers, commanders of the army, wathch men, the members of the royal courts and the priests—all accepted illegal gratifications and brought a chaotic situation in the monetary set-up of the society[4]. The borrowing of money was prevalent[5] and there were swindlers who hoodwinked in such dealings by declaring themselves insolvents[6]. In sharp

1. Yakṣīputrāścorā vijñeyāḥ kūṭadhūpakartāraḥ
Yeṣāṁ pratyakṣaphalaṁ dāridrayaṁ rājabhaṅgaśca.
(KV, p. 71, Canto IX, Verse 20).

2. Naṣṭacchāyopadeśārthaṁ sārthitā pathi dasyubhiḥ
Rūḍhā śibikayā varṣaṁ prapalāyya yayau tataḥ.
(SM, p. 15, Samaya II, Verse 98).

3. Rājaviruddhaṁ dravyaṁ rūpaṁ vā kūṭalekhyamanyadvā
Niḥkṣipya yātyalakṣyaṁ dhūrto dhanināṁ vināśāya.
Muṣṇāti sārtharamaṇī śāṭīmādāya nidrayā mugdhān
Dhūrtena kūṭarūpaṁ dattvā niśi vañcate sāpi.
(KV, pp. 74-75, Canto IX, Verses 56, 67).

4. Mantriṣenāpatidvāḥsthasabhāpatipurohitaiḥ
Utkocadraviṇottānapāṇibhiḥ kṣapitāḥ prajāḥ.
(DAC, p. 161, Avatāra X, Verse 14).

5. Bahulābhalubdhamanasāṁ haranti ye duḥsahena lābhena
Ṛṇadhanamadhikavidagdhā vijñeyā lābhacorāste.
(KV, p. 72, Canto IX, Verse 29).

6. Deśe kṛtvā sphīte kumbhadhano ḍambarairgṛhaṁ pūrṇam
Niḥkṣepalakṣahārī varṣeṇa palāyate dhūrtaḥ.
(KV, p. 74, Canto IX, Verse 61).

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contrast to this, there was a class of rich people which lived in luxury. In such a state of society it was quite natural for Kṣemendra to give incessant advice of charity to those who were opulent and thus venture to bring monetary equilibrium in the society.

(I) *Education* :

Since ancient times Kāśmīra occupied a unique place in the field of education. During Kṣemendra's time it attracted students from different parts of India. Admission to this seat of learning was not easy. Local as well as foreign students had to take a difficult test in order to be qualified for a particular branch of learning. Those remaining unsuccessful either returned to their homes or wasted their time loitering in the streets of Kāśmīra and indulged in activities unbecoming of a student[1]. The subjects for study included Pātañjala Mahābhāṣya, Tarka and Mīmāṁsā besides so many others[2]. The picturesque surroundings of the country probably inspired many to become poets. Kṣemendra, therefore, wrote KK for the guidance of such poet aspirants. But there were also some who refused to take any training in the art of poetry and still pretended to be poets. Such make-believe poets have been condemned by Kṣemendra for their vain struggle to establish themselves as poets. A poetaster of this category has been described as ignorant of verb-roots and genders and is humorously depicted as follows :

Ajñātadhātuliṅgaṁ mukhakūṇanamulbaṇamapakvam
Ajvaramiva vamati kaviḥ ślokaṁ kṛcchrātsaha prāṇaiḥ.
Śuṣkaślokadhyānāt kuṣṇāti divāniśam hṛdayam
Mandaḥ kāvyena vinā gatvā kurute na vṛttim svām[3].

1. DU, pp. 16-20, Upadeśa VI, Verses 1-45.
2. Gauḍaḥ karoti pārambhaṁ Bhāṣye Tarke Prabhākare.
(DU, p. 17, Upadeśa VI, Verse 8)
3. DU, p. 26, Upadeśa VIII, Verses 18, 19.

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A person proclaiming himself to be a grammarian is also ridiculed for beating his empty drum of knowledge[1]. Kṣemendra stood up for the acquisition of real knowledge and wanted the students to be purposeful and sincere in their studies.

The above study of Kṣemendra's writings reveals the social conditions prevalent in his time. His compositions serve two purposes. Firstly, they point to the social evils which were responsible for retarding the progress of the society, and secondly, they have suggestions for the amelioration of the community in general. In both these purposes, Kṣemendra has attained exceptional success.

But, it would not be unfair to remark that while Kṣemendra gives us a fairly clear picture of the seamy side of life, of the bad elements that were corroding the society, there is very little information regarding the other aspect. Every society has its share of good and evil elements. While one might dominate the other, it can never wipe the other out of existence. There must have been courageous men who earned a straight forward living by honest labour, who refused bribes and also women who were models of chasiity and gentleness but we do not come across them in Kṣemendra's works. He is essentially a social critic who notices the diseased limbs of the society like a doctor who is concerned about the ailment of a person. He strictly leaves the healthy parts alone and makes it his sole concern to understand the disease and prescribe the remedy for its cure. His unrelenting attack on the Kāyastha community is not palatable to the modern mind for it is not proper to blame

1. Vidvānsādhuśabdo viṣmṛtaliṅgo napuṁsakaprakṛtiḥ
Aviditasakalasamāso satsu sadā dvandvameva jānāti,
Nāsāsthūtkṛtimiśrairmithyākāśaiḥ sakaṇṭhaṭaṅkāraiḥ
Pṛṣṭo vighnaṁ kurute vismṛtalaṭpratyayo vidvān.
(DU, p. 30, Upadeśa VIII, Verses 41, 42).

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a whole community for the faults of some of its members. One wonders if there were no exceptions amongest the Kāyasthas to disprove this degradation. But these are not very grave defects for, Kṣemendra is primarrily a poet and only secondarily a social historian, and he enjoyed that privilege by which the poet may choose those aspects of the society which inspire him.

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5

The Factors which Influenced Kṣemendra's Mind

(A) *The Śaiva Philosophy in Kṣemendra's works* :

Kṣemendra was born when Śaivism was having its heyday in the Kāśmīra valley. His father was a great devotee of Lord Śiva and naturally the environment of his childhood must have developed in him an interest in Śaivism. This influence of Śaiva philosophy remained dominant all his life because of its imprint on him at a tender age. Abhinavagupta, who earnestly sought to systematize the idealistic monism of this philosophy, was his first teacher and was responsible for cementing this influence by giving Kṣemendra the knowledge of Kāśmīra Śaivism. The influence of this philosophy as well as of his great teacher Abhinavagupta himself are clearly seen in the compositions of Kṣemendra.

(i) *Kāśmīra Śaivism* :

The Śaiva philosophy which developed in Kāśmīra is known as Pratyabhijñā, Spanda or Trika philosophy. The names Pratyabhijñā and Spanda are due to its having special philosophical aspects in it. The name 'Trika' or 'Ṣadardha' is also given to this system because it deals with the three elements God, Soul and Matter, or because Siddha, Nāmaka and Mālinī Tantras are most important amongst its literature. What is now called as Kāśmīra Śaivism was styled in different ways according to its emphasis on categoriology, means of salvation or a characteristic metaphysical doctrine. That is how we get the names Trika, Ṣadardhasāra or Pratyabhijñā.

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The origin and development of this monistic philosophy is found in the commentary of Tantrāloka. Another account is given by Kṣemarāja in the beginning of Śivasūtravimarśiṇī that the Śivasūtras, which form the first literature of this philosophy, were revealed to Vasugupta, the originator of Kāśmīra Śaivism through the grace of Lord Śiva. Vasugupta through meditation and arduous Yoga was able to see the Ultimate Reality and wrote about this experience in Spandakārikā. He lived during the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century. The Śivasūtras which existed in the minds of the ancient seers and were vanishing due to the advent of the Kali age and the spread of dualism, were again revealed to Vasugupta. He propagated the principles of monism and saved them from extinction. Vasugupta, to further his purpose, trained his two pupils--Kallaṭa and Somānanda. Amongst the best works of Kallaṭa is the commentary on 'Spandakārikā' known as 'Spandasarvasva'. Somānanda's reputed works on this philosophy are 'Śivandṛṣṭi' and 'Parātriṁśikā Vivṛti'. Somānanda's pupil Utpalācārya wrote a famous work known as 'Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā' which gave this philosophy a new name—Pratyabhijñā. Utpala's pupil was Lakṣmaṇagupta whose disciple Abhinavagupta (993-1015 A.D.) is considered a land-mark in the history of Kāśmīra Śaivism. His well-known commentaries are Mālinīvijayavārtika, Parātriṁśikāvivaraṇa, Śivadṛṣṭyālocana, Pratyabhijñāvimarśiṇī and Pratyabhijñāvivṛtimarśiṇī. He also wrote the famous Tantrāloka, Tantrasāra, Paramārthasāra and many others.

The literature of Kāśmīra Śaivism has three divisions: (1) The Āgamaśāstra, (2) Spandaśāstra and (3) The Pratyabhijñāśāstra. The Āgamaśāstra is regarded as of superhuman authorship. The most important Tantras belonging to this group are Mālinīvijaya, Svacchanda, Vijñāa Bhairava, Ucchuṣma Bhairava, Mṛgendra, Mataṅga, Netra, Naiśvāsa, Svāyambhuva and Rudrayāmala.

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The Spandaśāstra elaborates in greater detail the doctrines of the Śivasūtra. Kallaṭa Bhaṭṭa (850-850 A.D.) was the one who founded it.

The Pratyabhiñāśāstra systematically explained the philosophical reasons for the doctrines of Śivasūtra and thus established Kāśmīra Śaivism on a firmer ground. Somānanda, another pupil of Vasugupta, was the founder of this branch of literature. It was further developed by Utpalācārya, Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja (12th Century A.D.) Jayaratha (12th Century A.D.) and Śivopādhyāya (18th Century A.D.) Kṣemarāja, the distinguished pupil of Abhinavagupta, contributed to all the three branches of this literature. After Śivopādhyāya, the history of the literature of Kāśmīra Śaivism came to a close.

The epistemology of Kāśmīra Śaivism accepts that Pure Consciousness or Parā Saṁvit is the spiritual substance of the universe. The soul or the finite being and Matter or Prakṛti assimilate in the Infinite or the Ultimate Reality. This philosophy has logical explanations about the nature of the Ultimate Reality, the cause of its movements and the nature of its manifest forms as it has recognised the Transcendental and the Immanent aspects of a single reality and thus established a pure monism. According to this philosophy the Ultimate Reality, which is pure consciousness, pervades the universe of manifest phenomena—this being its nature. The cause of its first movement is its having transcendental (period of potentiality or Pralaya) and immanent (period of creation or Sṛṣṭi) phases between whom the consciousness alternates. The universal seeds of potentiality begin to germinate after Pralaya and consciousness which had dissolved and absorbed all forms of manifest phenomena, becomes active. This activeness is the creation of the universe. The seeds are produced for the two phases during the period of rest to bring the next phase of

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action into being. The nature of its manifestation is nothing but the two aspects of one reality. The universe of manifest phenomena is only another form of the Ultimate Being :

> Śrīmatparamaśivasya punaḥ viśvottīrṇaviśvā-
> tmakaparamānandamayaprakśaikaghanasya
> Akhilabhedenaiva sphurati na tu vastutaḥ
> anyat kiñcit grāhyaṁ grāhakaṁ vā. Api tu
> Śrī Paramaśivabhaṭṭāraka evetthaṁ nānā-
> vaicitryasahasraiḥ sphurati[1].

In this system the Ultimate consciousness never changes, always remains transcendent and undiminished and makes the world of matter appear in itself by its free will[2] as if it were distinct from himself though not really so. It is like the mirror. Worldly things appear in a mirror, still it remains unaffected by the reflections. So is the Ultimate Consciousness. It does not need any canvas nor any collection of materials for drawing a picture of the world of matter :

> Nirupādānasaṁbhāramabhittāveva tanvate
> Jagaccitraṁ namastasmai kalānāthāya śūline[3].

To explain the process of cosmic evolution, the aspect of change and evolution, Kāśmīra Śaivism postulates thirty-six categories or Tattvas. A Tattva is that which lasts through the 'small dissolution' of the universe and is always present in its effects, in its collocations or in the being marked by characteristics peculiar to itself. The first twenty-four categories from Pṛthivī (Earth) to Prakṛti (Matter) are the same as in the Sāṁkhya system. The remaining categories from the Ultimate

1. Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya, Sūtra III.
2. Svecchayā svabhittau viśvamunmīlayati.
   (Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya, Sūtra II).
3. Attributed to Vasugupta in 'Pratyabhijñādarśana', Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha by Mādhava.

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Reality in its transcendental aspect to Purṣa (Spirit), show how Puruṣa is derived from higher principles.

The Ultimate Reality has two aspects in its relation to the process of cosmic evolution. The first is Śiva tattva and the second is Śakti tattva. These two are the immanent aspects of pure consciousness, i.e., the aspect of change and action or subject and object. This doctrine postulates that in its immanent aspect consciousness becomes visible to itself as subject and object. These two are technically called Aham (I) and Idam (This) and are closely related.

In the process of cosmic evolution the subject or the Śiva tattva is the first of Absolute—Cit. In this condition the qualities of consciousness are that it is the subject, knower, experiencer, static centre and the support of all things, substratum of all change which can never be seen but can be perceived by its effects. In this condition it remains unaware of the existence of Idam (This). This is the passive aspect of the pure consciousness. It is dependent on the active aspect of consciousness which is called the Śakti-tattva, to bring it into being. This is the power of consciousness to act. This is the cause of all motion and change observed throughout the manifest world. All things come into being and get destroyed at the end of each cycle of time through this Śakti. This is the Ānanda aspect of the universal condition of Sat cit Ānanda. Both Śiva and Śakti are invariably associated like the moon and her light. The existence of one is impossible without the the other. Somānadā says that Śiva in the association with Śakti brings all things into being. Śakti and Śiva cannot be separated :

Na Śivaḥ śaktirahito na śaktirvyatirekiṇī
Śivaḥ śaktastathā bhāvān iccayā kartumīhate
Śaktiśaktimatorbhedaḥ śaive Jātu na varṇyate[1]

1. Somānanda, Śivadṛṣṭi 3/2/3.

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These two are eternal. During Pralaya or Universal dissolution they exist in the pure consciousness in perfect equilibrium. An upset in balance starts manifestation. In the process of evolution of consciousness, they, being unproduced, are not considered as the stages. The determination of every action is governed by three modes of Śakti, namely Icchā, the power of will ; Jñāna, the power of knowledge ; and Kriyā, the power of action. In logical sequence they follow each other.

The third category in the process of cosmic evolution is called the Sadāśiva Tattva which represents the awareness by the subject (Aham) of the object (Idam), i.e., the dual relationship of "I am This". This is the first evolute of consciousness. In this stage the entire experience is subjective like the desire in the mind of an artist to produce a picture[1]. This is not eternal and is first to be produced in the process of the evolution of consciousness.

In the process of cosmic evolution the fourth stage is called the Īśvara Tattva. The power of knowledge, technically called Jñānaśakti, predominates in it. "This-am-I" may represent the experience of this stage. Here, This (Idam) emerges into full view as a picture drawn on a canvas, throws the canvas into background and is called a picture, and thus, what was vague in the third stage becomes distinct and clear.

The fifth category is Sadvidyā which is the stage of complete equilibrium with equal emphasis on the subject (Aham) and on the object (Idam) :

Sāmānādhikaraṇyaṁ hi sadvidyāhamidaṁ dhiyoḥ.[2]

1. Tasya prathamasṛṣṭāvasmākamantaḥkaraṇaikavedyamiva dhyāmalaprāyamunmīlitacitramātrakalpaṁ yad bhāvacakraṁ tasya caitanyavargasya tādṛśi bhāvarāśau tathā prathanaṁ nāma yaccidviśeṣatvaṁ tatsadāśivatattvam.
(Īśvarapratyabhijñā Vimarśiṇī II, 192-193).
2. Īśvarapratyabhijñā II, 196.

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This category accounts for the power of universal action, technically called Kriyā Śakti, the Action-aspect of Śakti, the aspect that creates all things.

In the categories mentioned above, the object is seen as a part of the subject and the classification is for the purpose of worship as the Pure category (Śuddha Tattva). But, in the sixth category, called Māyā Tattva, the subject and the object are separated. This is the active and gross aspect of consciousness and is not considered as a separate reality. As an aspect of the Universal Self, it is eternal and unproduced :

> Sā jaḍā bhedarūpatvāt kāryaṁ cāsyā jaḍaṁ yataḥ
> vyāpinī viśvanetutvāt sūkṣmā kāryaikakalpanāt
> Śivaśaktyavināśhāvā nityaikā mūlakāraṇam.[1]

The universal mode of consciousness, i.e., cit, ānanda, icchā, jñāna and kriyā are limited by it to account for the plurality of selves with their limitations. Thus, the true nature of the Universal consciousness is obscured. Māyā takes help of its five evolutes or Kañcukas namely, Kalā (Limited Power), Vidyā (Limited knowledge), Rāga (Desire), Kāla (Time) and Niyati (Space) to limit the five universal experiences of Sarvakartṛtva (All-Powerfulness), Sarvajñatva (All-knowledge), Pūrṇatva (All-Completeness), Nityatva (Eternal Existence). All these universal experiences belong to the first five categories. The first evolute of Māyā, i.e., Kalā limits the universal condition of All-Powerfulness. The universal condition of All-Knowledge is limited by Vidyā. Rāga limits the condition of All-Completeness. Kāla is the limiting condition of the limited self. By Niyati the universal condition of All-Pervasiveness is limited.

The result of Māyā and its Kañcukas is the production of Puruṣa and Prakṛti. The Subject (i.e. Aham) and the

1. Tantrāloka VI, 117.

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object (i.e. Idam) are completely separated at this stage. The categories from Māya to Puruṣa are classified as the Śuddha Tattva for the purpose of worship. The categories from Śiva Tattva to Sadvidyā are the Śuddha Tattvas, and Aśuddha Tattvas, are the twenty-four remaining tattvas from Prakṛti to to Pṛthivi. They represent the condition in Nature which exists between them. These are in brief the philosophical speculations of Kāśmira Śaivism.

(ii) *Kāśmīra Śaivism as Found in Kṣemendra's Works* :

The philosophical principles of Kāśmīra Śaivism had a wide influence on Kṣemendra. The literature produced bp him shows his keen insight regarding doctrines of this great philosophy even though he did not write any philosophical work to add to the literature of Kāśmīra Śaivism. The presiding deity of the benedictions to most of his works is Lord Śiva irrespective of the fact that the subject under description may be in support of some other religion.

The earlier works of Kṣemendra show his remarkable bent towards the religion and philosophy in which he was first initiated. This is supported by his BKM and other works where the presiding deity is Lord Śiva and intermitently he is invoked with much fervour and devotion. As pointed out earlier, the influence of Kāśmīra Śaivism is prominently seen in BKM which establishes that it is an earlier work than RM. This influence, which is conspicuous in the poet's earlier works, recedes gradually but does not disappear altogether. BKM begins with an invocation to Lord Śiva :

Umāpraṇāmasaṁkrāntacaraṇālaktakaḥ śaśī
Sandhyāruṇa ivābhāti yasya pāyāt sa vaḥ śivaḥ.[1]

Lord Śiva, who is the Ultimate Reality and is the cause of the creation, sustenance and dissolution of the universe and not

1. BKM, p. 1, Lambaka I, Taraṅga I, Verse 1.

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merely a deity of trinity, is remembered as such at another place :

Devākhilajagatsargasthitisaṁhārkāraṇa
Yasya vedaḥ samunmeṣaḥ kastaṁ tvāṁ stotumīśvaraḥ.[1]

'Yasya niḥśvasitaṁ vedāḥ' is what philosophers believe. "Vedas are not Pauruṣeya but spontaneous outflow from the Ultimate Reality"—is what Kṣemendra points out here. The sixth category in the process of cosmic evolution, i.e., the Māyā, is mentioned by the poet in consonance with Kāśmīra Śaivism.[2] This is further mentioned as the veiling and obscuring force of Nature and as the primary cause of all the limited manifestations :

Māyārūpaparāvṛttirdṛṣṭibandhābhicārake
Māraṇoccātanākarṣe jātāhaṁ tadguṇādhikā.[3]

Here there is a reference to magical practices described in the Tantra literature. The Ultimate Consciousness is described as making the world of matter appear in itself by its free will :

Kiṁ nu sūryaprabhajaye sa Rudraḥ svayamudyataḥ
Yadicchāmātrasaṁpattirjagataḥ pralayādayaḥ[4].

1. BKM, p. 2, Lambaka I, Taraṅga I, Verse 21.
2. Tvanmāyāmayanirmāṇajagadvaicitryasaṁkathām
Ananyākarṇitāṁ cetaḥ srotumutkaṇṭhate mama.
(BKM, p. 3, Lambaka I, Taraṅga I, Verse 22).
3. BKM, p, 99, Lambaka III, Guccha I, Verse 374.
4. BKM, p. 141, Lambaka VI, Guccha I, Verse 57,
Also the following:
Kiṁ tu sūryaprabhasyārthe svaṁ devastrilocanaḥ
Udyatastridaśā sarve yadicchāmātrabhūtayaḥ.
(BKM, p, 146, Lambaka VI, Guccha I, Verse 120).
Prabhavanti yato lokāḥ pralayaṁ yānti yena ca
Saṁsāracakraṁ vibhrāntaḥ kaḥ pidhātuṁ tadīśvaraḥ.
(BKM, p. 173, Lambaka VII, Guccha I, Verse 183).

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In the whole of BKM at several places, prayers to the Trika deity have been made with deep devotion. The devotion to Lord Śiva has been considered as the way for salvation and superior to all kinds of religious exercises like the performances of sacrifices and the torturing of the body through fasts.[1] The mention of the Trika system and the Śivāgamas, the authorities for Kāśmīra Śaivism, bear testimony to Kṣemendra's having the clear concept of this philosophy and its literature.[2] Various epithets used for the prayers of Lord Śiva present the concept of the Ultimate Reality according to Kāśmīra Śaivism.[3] Kṣemendra gives in a poetic way the relation of the Ultimate Reality with the universe and compares it with the creation of an artist :

Namostu bhāvanāmātranānāvarṇavidhāyine
Tryakṣacitrakṛte lakṣyatrailokyāścaryakāriṇe.[4]

1. Kiṁ yajñairvipulāyāsaiḥ kiṁ vrataiḥ kāyaśoṣaṇaiḥ
Nirvyājasevā subhagā bhaktiryeṣāṁ Maheśvare.
(BKM, 141, Lambaka VI, Guccha I, Verse 59).
Hetave sarvasiddhīnāṁ kalmaṣakṣayahetave
Bhavābdhisetave tubhyaṁ namostu vṛṣaketave.
(Ibid, p. 209, Lambaka VIII, Guccha I, Verse I)
2. Vīkṣyamāṇāṁ vicalitagrīvaṁ khecararaśaṅkayā
Muhustrikaparāvṛttinimajjatrivalīlatām.
(BKM, p. 216, Lambaka IX, Guccha I, Verse 8).
Yajuṣo dākṣiṇātyasya tanayohaṁ dvijanmanaḥ
vibhūtivasurācāryapadaṁ prāptaḥ Śivāgamaiḥ.
(Ibid, p. 267, Lambaka IX, Guccha I, Verse 633).
3. Nirlepanityanirupādhinirañjanāya
saṁvidvikāśakusumotsavanandanāya
Vairāgyasiktaśamapallavabhaktivallī-
nādāyamānamadhupāya namaḥ Śivāya.
(Ibid, p. 474, Lambaka XIV, Verse 66).
Anaṅgīkṛtakāmāya namo vāmārdhadhāriṇe
Śivāyāścaryarūpāya Niṣkalāya kalābhṛte.
(Ibid, p. 541, Lambaka XVI, Verse 1).
4. Ibid, p. 469, Lambaka XIV, Verse 1.

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This corresponds to Kāśmīra Śaivism as mentioned earlier. Here there is again the mention of the creation which is through the free will of the Ultimate Reality. The never changing character of the Ultimate Reality, which always remains transcendent and undiminished and does not need any canvas nor the collection of materials for drawing a picture of the world of matter, is again referred here. That the Ultimate Reality is consciousness and does not change (Avikāri) even though it appears in all perceptible forms which change and the creation does not modify the nature of Reality—all these principles of Kāśmīra Śaivism seem to be well understood by Kṣemendra when he says in the invocation of Lord Śiva :

Namaścidgaganābhogabhāsine bodhabhāsvate
Avibhinnasvabhāvāya bhavāyābhayadāyine.[1]

Here it has also been emphasised that the creation does not modify the nature of Reality. The Ultimate, according to Kāśmīra Śaivism has two aspects, the transcendental (Viśvottīrṇa) and the immanent (Viśvamaya). The Viśvamaya or the immanent is described as 'prakāśavimarśamaya'. These two words represent the two aspects of the individual self. In the first, i.e., the Prakāśa is for all that is manifested by the Ultimate Reality. The second aspect 'Vimarśa' explains the distinctive feature of the self as by this aspect the self can control what it contains, and gives rise to self-consciousness, will, knowledge, and action with reference to the Universal self. These two aspects of the Universal self[2] have been referred to by Kṣemendra and on many occasions he gives poetical descriptions of the technical terms of Śaiva

1. BKM, p. 473, Lambaka XIV, Verse 58.
2. Namaḥ prakāśavyākośahṛtkuśeśayaśāline
Śivāya śamitāśeṣadoṣāyāviṣayaspṛśe.
(BKM, p. 473, Lambaka XIV, Verse 59).

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philosophy.[1] In glowing terms Kṣemendra presents the religious concept of Śiva and the absolutistic form of the Ultimate Reality.[2]

The bent of Kṣemendra's mind towards Kāśmīra Śaivism is clear from the above references. BhM also mentions the mythological description of Lord Śiva ; the creations of the world of matter through the free will of the Ultimate Reality are given in similar terms to that of BKM[3]. Kṣemendra talks about the cosmic form of Reality.[4] Here he uses the same epithets for Lord Kṛṣṇa which are used in Kāśmīra Śaivism for the Ultimate Reality. The influence of Kāśmīra Śaivism becomes obvious when he tries to blend the philosophical ideas of Kāśmīra Śaivism with those of Vaiṣṇavism.[5] In the eulogy

1. Amandānandanispandamadirāmbudhibindave
   Namaḥ kundodaraspandasvacchandāyendumauline.
   (BKM, p. 474, Lambaka XIV, Verse 60).
2. Namaḥ kālakalājālahelākavalakelaye
   kālikaṭākṣavalanākalitāyaṁ kapāline.
   Namaścarmāmbarabhṛte dharmādharmaguṇacchide
   kurmo narmavinirmāṇa sarva saṁsārakarmaṇe.
   Namo dakṣamakhākṣāntikṣaṇalakṣyākṣivahnaye
   kṣubhyatkṣyakṣapākṣiprasaṁkṣepāya tricakṣuṣe.
   Nirlepanityanirupādhinirañjanāya
   saṁvidvikāśakusumotsavanandanāya.
   Vairāgyasiktaśamapallavabhaktivallī-
   nādāyamānamadhupāya namaḥ Śivāya.
   (BKM, p. 474, Lambaka XIV, Verses 61, 62, 63, 66).
3. Tvadicchāspandamātreṇa bhavanti na bhavanti ca
   Jagantisarvabhūtātmannijadhāmaspṛśācyuta.
   (BhM, p. 161, Āraṇyaparva, Verse 129).
4. Ityuktaḥ Pāṇḍuputreṇa Bhagavānkaiṭabhāntakaḥ
   Viśvāviṣkarakalayā viśvarūpamadarśayat.
   (Ibid, p. 400, Bhīṣmaparva, Verse 126).
5. Jaya viśveśa viśvātmanviśvaksena sudhānidhe
   Amandacidghanānanda saṁvitsamarasadyute.
   (Ibid, p. 416, Bhīṣmaparva, Verse 320).

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of Lord Viṣṇu he uses all the technical words of Śaivism which describe the Reality and states it as the cause of all the three states of universe, viz. Creation, Sustenance and Dissolution.[1] Māyā, which breaks the unity of the Universal Self and acts as the most distinctive power of the Universal Self in its creative aspect and which is the power of obscuration and the primary cause of all the limited manifestations, is again referred to :

Māyeyaṁ jagadutpattisthitisaṁhārakāriṇī
Kṛtā mahābhūtamayī chayevākāśadarśinī.[2]

Śiva is conceived here as the highest spiritual principle and is eulogised as assuming different forms as Brahmā in creation, Viṣṇu in sustenance and Maheśa in the dissolution of the world.[3]

In RM, the idea of Kāśmīra Śaivism that the Universal consciousness manifests itself by its own self, is well brought out in the following verse :

Caturdhā Yogamāsthāya vibhajyātmānamātmanā
Avatīrya dharāṁ Viṣṇo jahi trailokaṇṭakam.[4]

'Śaktipāta' which means the divine will, which leads a person to the path of spiritual knowledge according to Śaivism, is also indicated :

1. Namastubhyaṁ jagatsargasthitisaṁhārakāriṇe
Trivikramāya mahate triguṇāya Trimūrtaye.
(BhM, p. 416, Bhīṣmaparva, Verse 321).
2. BhM, p. 606, Śāntiparva, Verse 823.
3. Sthāṇo sthirasthite śambho śarva Bhāno varaprapa
Hara Rudra Smarārāte Viśva Viśveśvareśvara
Bhava Bharga Śivāśvāsa Bhavānīvallabha Prabho
Śaśāṅkaśakalottaṁsa Śiva Śānta Maheśvara
Namastubhyaṁ jagatsargasthitisaṁhārakāriṇe
Brahmopendrendravapuṣe Triguṇāya Trimūrtaye.
(BhM, p. 651, Śāntiparva, Verses 1369-1371).
4. RM, p. 6, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Verse 69.

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Harārcanaikavyāpārā yadbhavanti vibhūtayaḥ
Tajjanmāntaralabdhasya tatprasādasya tatphalam[1].

Māyā, which is the most distinctive power of the Universal Self, is said to be the result of its Free Will :

Yenedaṁ svecchayā sarvaṁ Māyayā mohitaṁ jagat[2].

The Śaivāgamas, which emanated from Śiva, are also referred as such[3]. By this reference Kṣemendra seems to support the popular belief of the origin of Śaivāgamas from Lord Śiva. By the devotion to Lord Śiva a person can conquer disease and death[4] and the attachment to mundane objects which constitute the futile way of life[5]. Mokṣa, according to Kāśmira Śaivism, is the state of perfect purity of consciousness. The realisation of the Self or the Supreme Consciousness is the way of salvation which Kṣemendra also mentions[6]. He also alludes

1. RM, p. 436, Uttarakāṇḍa, Verse 366.
2. NM, p. 1, Parihāsa I, Verse 1.
3. Ākāreṇa gururguruśca vacasā kausīdyamaurkhyairgurur-
medhreṇātigurustathāsyakuharaśmaśrūdarasphigguruḥ
Veśyākāminiyogivañcanaguruḥ sadavṛttaśūnyo guru-
ścitraṁ sarvaguruḥ Śivoditamahāśikṣāsu nityaṁ laghuḥ.
(NM, p. 23, Parihāsa II, Verse 112).
4. Na kurvīta kriyāṁ kāṁcidanabhyarcya Maheśvaram
Īśārcanarataṁ śvetaṁ nābhūnnetuṁ Yamaḥ Kṣamaḥ.
(CC, p. 128, Verse 4).
5. Nityaṁ rājakule na pūjyayajane taddvārapālārcanaṁ
bhaktiṁ bhūtisamudbhave na tu bhave dhyānaṁ dhane nātmani
Dṛṣṭādṛṣṭavicintanaṁ narapatau na svocite karmaṇi
śrīhetorbata niṣphalaṁ prakurute sarvaṁ jaḍaḥ sevakaḥ.
(SU, p. 84, Verse 55),
6. Utsṛjya prājyasevāṁ vijanasukhajuṣāṁ bhūbhujāṁ vyājabhājāṁ
chittvāśāpāśabandhānvimalaśamajalaistīvratṛṣṇāṁ nivārya
Sthitvā śuddhe samādhau kimaparamamṛtaṁ mṛgyatāṁ jyotiranta-
ryasmindṛṣṭe vinaṣṭotkaṭatimirabhare labhyate mokṣalakṣmīḥ.
(Ibid, p. 85, Verse 59).

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to the Tāntric way of salvation where the repetition of a certain religious formula (Mantra) is also considered as a means to self realisation[1]. In this connection he has referred to Mystical Energy (Mantraśakti) known as 'Traipurī'— the Mystical Energy wnich possesses the lustre of the Vāgbhava Bīja (i.e. Aim) emanating from the ambrosial waters which has the potency of the evolving Kāma-tattva Bīja (i.e. Klīm), full of charm, and which grants salvation when contemplated as the Supreme Splendour (i.e. Saum) and which thus exists in the form of the Sun, the Moon and the Fire.

A line has been drawn in Kāśmīra Śaivism between the intellectual and the spiritual knowledge (Bauddha and Pauruṣa jñāna) and the superiority of the latter has been established. Kṣemendra also states that the Śāstras or barren intellectual excursions are no good ; what is important is to search the real light within.[2] A perfect description of the Immanent Reality as conceived in Śaivism is found in DAC :

Aśeṣaviśvavaicitryaracanārucaye namaḥ
Māyāgahanagūḍhāya nānārūpāya Viṣṇave.[3]

The cosmic process is but a weaving and unweaving of forms in which the values we cherish find precarious and brief embodiment and these values for which we struggle are only like a flash in the pan and will disappear sooner or later—this idea is beautifully presented by Kṣemendra when he says :

1. Jayati jitasudhāmbhaḥsaṁbhavadvāgbhavaśrī-
ratha sarasasamudyatkāmatattvānubhāvāḥ
Tadanuparamadhāmadhyānasaṁlabdhamokṣā
raviśaśiśikhīrūpā traipurī māntraśaktiḥ.
(KK, p. 122, Sandhi I, Verse 1).

2. Pṛthuśāstrakathākanthāromanthena vṛthaiva kim
Anveṣṭavyaṁ prayatnena tattvajñairjyotirāntaram.
(ST, p. 50, Vinyāsa III).

3. DAC, p. 1, Avatāra I, Verse 1.

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Utpattivṛddikṣayapākayuktyā kṣaṇe kṣaṇe dṛṣṭavinaṣṭa-
sarvaḥ
Prāyaḥ prapañcapraṇayī bhavoyamabhāva sadbhāvasa-
mastabhāvaḥ[1].

The Trika theory of Karma is embodied in the description of Karma given by Kṣemendra in most of his works. Karma according to this philosophy is that factor which is responsible for the difference in the result of the same action done by a number of persons :

Lakṣyate sukhaduḥkhādyaiḥ samāne dṛṣṭakāraṇe
Citrairhetvantaraṁ kiñcit tacca karmeha darśanāt[2].

The individual's experiences, good or bad, attribute to his previous actions and merit and demerit is also attached to such actions. The physical universe which possesses the variety in itself is such due to the innumerable experiences and countless desires of all the individuhl selves, the selves which are mere appearances assumed by the Universal Consciousness The individual self has the limited power of knowledge and action and also the limitation in desire. The limited desire is the cause of transmigration and also the root of all actions or Karmas. It is determined by the Lord's Will. Karmas, being associated with the limited Self and not with the body, is not destroyed. It transmigrates with the soul and is the determining factor for the soul's associations with the future body. It fructifies only when it gets favourable circumstances. At this stage of maturity it cannot be prevented from fruition. In unfavourable circumstances it lies dormant and can be destroyed only by other counter-actions such as charity, austerity and knowledge long before it fructifies.

The above-mentioned theory of Karma seems to be well understood by Kṣemendra. In BKM it is mentioned that the

1. DAC, p, 53, Avatāra VII, Verse 72.
2. Tantrāloka VI, 98.

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desires fetter the individual and he is put in the never ending circle of transmigration. He has to reap the fruit of Karma in the present and successive births. Karma is not destroyed in the present or the coming birth, otherwise how will the charity of gold and cows fructify :

Vāsanānugato dehī gṛhādgṛhamivāgataḥ
śarirāntaramāsādya bhuṅkte karma śubhāśubham.
Dehāntare svadehe vā nāyaṃ naśyati sarvadā
dhenusvarṇādidānānāṁ phalabhogaḥ kutonyathā.[1]

The same idea is further expressed as under :

Asminkarmakṣetre yena yaduptaṁ sa eva tadbhuṅkte
Labhate nāndhena dhṛtaṁ cakṣuṣmānapyupāyena.[2]

The union and separation, the pleasure and sorrow, all come through Karma :

Vicitrakarmanirmāṇairirbhavantyeva bhave nṛṇām
Saṁyogaiśca viyogaiśca sukhaduḥkhe viparyayaḥ.[3]

In BhM it has been mentioned that every creature has to reap the fruits of its own Karma which follows like the shadow always asserting itself :

Athavā svakṛtaṁ karma bhujyate sarvajantubhiḥ
Īśvaraḥ kurute sarvaṁ tadeṣā viphalā śrutiḥ.
Haṭhāddaivācca satataṁ dṛśyate phalasaṁtatiḥ
Chāyevānugataṁ karma loke hyasminśarīriṇām.[4]

1. BKM, p. 143, Lambaka VI, Guccha I, Verses 78, 79.
2. Ibid, p. 336, Lambaka IX, Guccha I, Verse 599.
3. Ibid, p. 388, Lambaka IX, Guccha II, Verse 1261.
4. BhM, pp. 249-250, Araṇyaparva, Verses 1268, 1273.
   And also the folowing :
   Svakṛtaṁ bhujyate karma paripāke śubhāśubham
   Satāmamlānavaktrāṇāṁ nāntarajñāstu śatravaḥ.
   (BhM, p. 612, Śāntiparva, Verse 897).

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The bondage of Karma is due to the desires[1]. The existence of the creatures in this world is also governed by the Karma[2]. The poverty and prosperity in this world is also governed by Karma. The birth, growth, enjoyment, procreation, merriment, decrepitude and death—all are due to Karma.[3]

In AKL also the the surpremacy of Karma has been accepted which is recognised by the Buddhism also. The transmigration is its fruition which cannot be removed.[4] The beings are attracted towards meritless Karma due to Moha (ignorance) :

Mohāhatairiha hi sadbhirasadbhireṣāṁ
niḥśarma sahasaiva viḍambyate yat

1. Vāsanāceṣṭitasyetthaṁ karmabandhaḥ śarīriṇaḥ
Nirlepo niṣprapañcaśca paramātmā na naśyati.
(BhM, p. 266, Araṇyaparva, Verse 1484).

2. Apāresminbhavāmbhodhau bhavanti na bhavanti ca
Jalabudbudavatsarve karmayogena jantavaḥ.
(BhM, p. 534, Strīparva, Verse 6).

3. Svakarmabhirayaṁ labhate nidhanodayau
Karmasūtrairviceṣṭante narā yantramayā iva.
Jāyate vardhate bhuṅkte prasūte modate punaḥ.
Jīryate kṣīyate vāpi na jantuḥ karmaṇā vinā.
(BhM, p. 640, Śāntiparva, Verses 1239, 1240).

4. Aho karmormibhiḥ śīrṇe saṁsāramakarākare
janmāvarteṣu jantūnāṁ majjanonmajjanakramaḥ
Puṁsāṁ lalāṭavipulopalapaṭṭikāsu
niḥśarmakarmaghaṭitaprakaṭāṅkaṭaṅkaiḥ.
Nyastāni janmamaraṇaprasarākṣarāṇi
Naitāni pāṇiparimārjanayā calanti.
Iyaṁ karmāyattā pracuracitravaicitraracanā
narāṇāṁ māyūracchadapaṭalatulyā pariṇatiḥ
Yayā garbhārambhe kramanipatane vṛddhisamaye
kṣaye vā nānyat prābhajata tanulekhācchavirapi.
(AKL, p. 68, Avadāna 7, Verses 43-45).

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Vāṣpāmbupūrṇanayanairanayopanīta-
mastokaśokavivaśairanubhūyatetra.[1]

In AKL there are several verses which again and again describe about the inevitability of Karma and its fruits. Thus, Kṣemendra veey skilfully places this theory of Karma as maintained by Kāśmīra Śaivism.

The references given above show that Kāśmira Śaivism had its ever-lasting influence on the mind of Kṣemendra and even when he was writing in support of some other religion or philosophy his ideas remained under the influence of the ideologies of this great philosophy.

(B) *The Influence of Abhinavagupta on Kṣemendra* :

As pointed out earlier, Kṣemendra learnt Sāhitya under his great teacher Abhinavagupta, the profound scholar of Kāśmīra Śaivism. He has specifically mentioned about Abhinavagupta in BKM and BhM in the same terms[2]. Abhinavagupta's literary activity extended to a wider range of subjects. He contributed not only to the Tāntrika and Alaṅkāra literature but also wrote the philosophical works like Īśvara Pratyabhijñā Vimarśiṇī and Īśvara Pratyabhijñā Vivṛti Vimarśiṇī or Bṛhatī Vimarśiṇī. This profundity of his teacher had a very significant influence on Kṣemendra. He also wrote on various subjects and proved his genius. In KK Kṣemendra has considered it necessary for a budding poet to learn from a man of literature and not from a logician or a mere grammarian to develop insight into poetry[3]. Kṣemendra who was so selective in choosing a teacher luckily got Abhinavagupta who produced a worthy pupil in Kṣemendra. Abhinavagupta himself had the

1. AKL, p. 284, Avadāna 44, Verse 64.
2. BKM, p. 620, Verse 37; BhM, p. 850, Verse 8.
3. KK, p. 123, Sandhi I, Verse 15.

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profound love for learning and he believed that only through tireless endeavour can it be acquired. This he proved himself which impressed his pupils very much. The scope of knowledge is unlimited as he considered and to attain it he remained under many teachers who imparted him the knowledge of various subjects. In Tantrāloka he has given this very reason as to why he waited upon the teachers of other religions such as Buddhism and Jainism[1]. To attain mastery in a partlcular branch one must have the insight into other branches of literature—this motto he followed and was able to establish the Pratyabhijñā philosophy on a firmer ground by criticising other schools of thought. Kṣemendra also, as a true student of his teacher, learnt under many other teachers to grasp other fields of literature and ideologies. He calls himself as 'Sarvamanīṣi-śiṣyaḥ'—the pupil of all great intellectuals. His works, varied in nature, show that he studied under different teachers whom he has not failed to mention.

Abhinavagupta's influence on Kṣemendra is found in his poetic outlook also. Though Kṣemendra has not written any particular work dealing with the philosophical principles of a particular school of thought, we cannot say that he remained untouched by the philosophical ideas of Abhinavagupta. These ideas are scattered everywhere in his works as has been shown earlier. The influence of the Tantric ideas of Abhinavagupta is also seen in him. The Sun, the Moon and the Fire which denote the creative trinity in the Tāntric language and are represented by the syllables 'Aim', 'Klīm' and 'Saum' have been invoked in KK[2]. Abhinava's influence in the field of literature is also apparent on Kṣemendra. Towards the end of

1. Ahamapyat evādhaḥśāstradṛṣṭikutūhalāt
   Nāstikārhatabauddhādīn upādhyāyānaseviṣam.
   (Tantrāloka VIII, 206).
2. KK, p. 122, Sandhi I, Verse 1.

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Tantrāloka we find Abhinavagupta as an appreciative poet, being touched to the core of his heart by the sight of colour, taste and pleasant after-effects of wine. His keen appreciation for charming complexion and exciting sportive movements of the women belonging to the city, the description of the beauty of Kāśmīra, the river Vitastā and the repeated acknowledgement of the power of Cupid—all these show that he was a real poet with an excellent aesthetic sense in him. This aspect of Abhinavagupta's poetical capability had an impressionable effect on Kṣemendra who was also attracted towards beautiful things. His poetry is infused with their description.

(C) The Unifying Spirit of Śaivism as Seen in Kṣemendra's Works :

The ancient faith of Kāśmīra before the rise of Tāntric Śaivism was a polytheistic religion on the authority of Nīlamata Purāṇa and its most popular god was Ardhanārī Naṭeśvara. It had a special inclination towards ritualistic Śaivism. In the 3rd Century B.C. when Buddhism entered into Kāśmīra it could spread there smoothly by its non-interfering religious policy. When in the 8th Century A.D. Śaivism had its epoch in Kāśmīra, it had before it the tremendous task of establishing itself over Buddhism and a haphazard polytheistic religion prevalent in those days. This was possible only when Tāntric Śaivism could prove itself as a powerful medium of unification of the existing ideologies and side by side unique in itself. The Tāntric Śaivism flourished with both these qualities. It not only imbibed the meditative and philosophical aspect of Buddhism but also the ritualistic aspect of a mixed religion which had eventually developed by the mixture of the local polytheistic religion and Buddhism. Another reason for the rise of the Tāntric Śaivism was that it had scriptural support as against this mixed faith which had no such authority. This was a very important factor which could attract the common people and therefore they accepted it as

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their ancestral faith. This Tāntric Śaivism due to its popularity in Kāśmīra was later on called 'Kāśmīra Śaivism'.

In the first part of this chapter it has been shown how deeply Kṣemendra was drawn towards the ideologies of Kāśmīra Śaivism. Even though he changed his earlier faith, his ideas remained very much influenced by the unifying ideologies of this great philosophy. Kāśmīra Śaivism created a firm footing for itself by imbibing some of the basic principles of other ideologies. This must have been one of the greatest attractions for Kṣemendra in Śaivism. Though, not being a philosophical writer, Kṣemendra does not show how far Kāśmīra Śaivism served as a unifying link for other ideologies, some of the references from his works bear a marked indication that he had in his mind the different principles of Kāśmīra Śaivism which unified in them the principles of other philosophies. In the following pages an attempt has been made to show on what principle Kāśmīra Śaivism agreed with other systems of philosophy and how far Kṣemendra acknowledges the unifying spirit of Śaivism in his works.

Kāśmīra Śaivism brought out a more logical and correct path consistent in all respects. The conflict in different ideologies was removed by it by finding out harmonious principles. On the question of the nature of the Ultimate Reality the the Sāṁkhya system accepted two independent realities, Puruṣa and Prakṛti add thus was tainted with dualism. The Vedānta system thought of a single Ultimate Reality, the Brahman, but also introduced Māyā to explain what remained unexplained for an absolutistic philosophy, and therefore, had the elements of dualism. Kāśmīra Śaivism found out the solution by advocating a pure monism and believing in the two—Transcendental (Viśvottīrṇa) and Immanent (Viśvamaya) aspects of one single reality.

On another vital question of the cause of the first movement of the Ultimate Reality, the Sāṁkhya system believed it

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to be due to the association of Puruṣa and Prakṛti without accounting for this association. The Vedānta explained that it is moved by an intelligent agent—an altogether additional category. Both these systems thus could not explain the real cause of the first stir for creation. Kāśmīra Śaivism explained that Consciousness alternates between two phases—Pralaya (dissolution and reabsorption) and Sṛṣṭi (the creation of the universe). The movement is governed by the law of Karma or the cause and effect which explains that the first movement of Consciousness will take place as an effect from past action.

As regards the nature of the manifestation of the Ultimate Reality in all the three schools of thought, the existence of manifiest world is recognised. Kṣemendra has many a time referred to this aspect of the Ultimate Reality as has already been mentioned earlier. The thirty-six categories envisaged by Kāśmīra Śaivism to explain the process of cosmic evolution, the twenty-four from Pṛthivī to Prakṛti are toe same as in the Sāṁkhya system. This again shows how harmonious the Trika system has been.

The Trika system has also accepted the Puruṣa concep t of the Sāṁkhya, the principle of momentariness of the Buddhism and Māyā of the Vedānta. The Ultimate Reality, which according to Vedāntins is the pure (Śuddha) Brahman, beyond the reach of thought and language[1], is accepted by Kāśmīra Śaivism in these very terms[2]. In both these systems, the Ultimate Reality, though indescribable in words, is described as the creator.

1. Na tara cakṣurgacchatai no vāggacchati no mano na
vidmo na vijānīmo yathaitad anuśiṣyād anyadeva
viditād atho aviditād adhi.
(Tavalakāropaniṣad, Ch. I, 3).
2. Uttaraṁ ca śabdānāṁ tat sarvathā 'īdṛśaṁ tādṛśam'
iti vyavacchedyaṁ kuryāt tad yatra na bhavati
avyavacchinnam idam anuttaram.
(Pratyabhijñāvimarśiṇī, 21).

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Kāśmīra Śaivism maintains that the Ultimate Reality contains all within itself, whatever appears in the material world. Does the Ultimate Reality change ? In answer to this question, this system says that all things lie within it as the waves are contained in the ocean. The manifestation of certain things out of this Highest Reality is only a different arrangement of the existing material within it. This is in consonance with the ideology of the Vedāntins who believe that the Brahman is the material cause of the universe and inspite of such a change is eternal. Kṣemendra has given this aspect of the Ultimate Reality[1] according to Kāśmīra Śaivism as it does not conflict with the concept of the Brahman of Vedānta but as a matter of fact unifies it.

Another point of sonthesism between Kāśmīra Śaivism and the Vedānta is that both these systems agree on the knowability of the Ultimate Reality as purely subjective. The individual selves are considered as manifestations of it through whom it sees and knows. The mention of the cosmic form of Reality by Kṣemendra[2] is to show the co-ordination of Kāśmīra Śaivism with that of Vedānta.

The creative power of mantfestation, technically called Kartṛtva Śakti, is attributed to the Ultimate Reality which has been mentioned in BKM by Kṣemendra[3]. This aspect of Kāśmīra Śaivism implies in it the concept of momentariness of the Buddhists. The Kriyā or action is the appearance of a number of physical forms which are very close and appear in quick succession and thus produce a continuity of vision. The idea of Kriyā is just like the Buddhist system which holds that

1. Namaścidgaganābhogabhāsine bodhabhāsvate
   Avibhinnasvabhāvāya bhavāyābhayadāyine.
   (BKM, p. 473, Lambaka XIV, Vesse 58).
2. BhM, p. 400, Bhīṣmaparva, Verse 126.
3. Prabhavanti yato lokāḥ pralayaṁ yānti yena ca
   Saṁsāracakraṁ vibhrāntaḥ kaḥ pidhātuṁ tadīśvaraḥ.
   (BKM, p. 173, Lambaka VII, Guccha I, Verse 183).

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the Ābhāsas or manifestations are momentary and the physical forms appear in a long long series following each other in quick succession and therefore appearing as of continuous extstence.

The thirty-six categories in which the manifested has been divided according to the Trika system, the first five powers, i.e., Cit, Ānanda, Icchā, Jñāna and Kriyā of the Ultimate Reality are always present in every manifestation. The difference between these manifestations is established according to the predominance of one of the powers in a particular manifestation. This is exactly like the Sāṁkhya system where every evolute of the Prakṛti is believed to possess all the three quatities of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas and the distinction between them is established according to the proportion of the ingredients of each individual evolute. Kṣemendra does not mention all these five powers directly but, in the epithets which he uses for the Reality[1], he seems to have in mind the five powers of the Ultimate Reality which are always present in every manifestation. This aspect of Kāśmīra Śaivism is all the more important as it unifies the concept of the Sāṁkhya philosophy.

The Trika philosophy has accepted Māyā as the first manifestation of the impure creation. It is the power of obscuration and the primary cause of all the limited manifestations. As it is the cause of the universe it is pervasive. This is like the Māyā of the Vedāntins. Like the Māyā of Vedāntins, the Māyā according to this system hides the true nature of the Self and so its five powers are obscured along with the universe. Under its influence the Universal Self assumes the innumerable forms of limited selves. The limitation is the ignorance of

1. Jaya viśveśa viśvātmanviśvakṣena sudhānidhe
Amandacidghanānanda saṁvitsamarasadyute.
(BhM, p. 416, Bhīṣmaparva, Verse 320).

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their essential nature furthered by the deprivation of the powers os knowledge and action Kṣemendra has given this very aspect of Māyā[1] which he thought was not in conflict with the Vedānta philosophy and was the unifying factor between these two ideologies.

When the nature of the Universal Self is obscured and its powers of knowledge and action are deprived, there remains the objectless desire to use the limited powers. The result of Māyā and its evolutes, the Kañcukas, is the production of Puruṣa which is the twenty-fifth category. This is the Self when affected by two impurities of obscuration of the real Self and the objectless desire to use limited powers. Puruṣa, the permanent aspect of the individual, passes through innumerable births. This concept of Puruṣa is similar to that of the Sāṁkhya system as both of them believe that the number of Puruṣas is unlimited and the Prakṛti supplies the stimuli for the enjoyment or the suffering experiences of these Puruṣas according to their individual Karma (the objectless desire which brings in the association of the Self with the effects of Māyā). Kṣemendra has mentioned the theory of Karma and the concept of Puruṣa[2] particularly because these two are acceptable to both philosophies of Sāṁkhya and Śaivism and indicate the unifying spirit of Kāśmīra Śaivism.

Another point of similarity between the Trika and Sāṁkhya system is that the Prakṛti according to both is a state of equilibrium of all the three qualities of Sattva, Rajas and it works for the sake of Puruṣa. Both these systems agree on the conception of Buddhi Tattva that it receives the reflection of the light of the Self and the reflection of the external object.

1. BKM, p. 3, Lambaka I, Taraṅga I, Verse 22.
   BhM, p. 606, Śāntiparva, Verse 823.
2. BKM, p. 143, Lambaka VI, Guccha, I, Verse 78.
   BhM, pp. 249-250, Āraṇyaparva, Verses 1268, 1273.
   Ibid, p. 266, Āraṇyaparva, Verse 1484.
   Ibid, p. 534, Strīparva, Verse 6.

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This concept of Buddhi is recognised by Kṣemendra[1] which brings the unification between these two systems.

Thus we find that the Kāśmīra Śaivism or the Trika system has sought to formulate a unification of different philosophical concepts particularly of Sāṁkhya, Vedānta and Buddhism. The Bauddha theory of momentariness of both the subject and the object has been included by this system in the conception of the Universal Consciousness which includes all things. The Brahman aecording to the Vedāntins is Prakāśamaya and the Universal consciousness of the Trika system is not only Prakāśamaya but also Vimarśamaya that is it has control over what is Prakāśa. The difference between these systems and the Trika philosophy is not very mueh. If the dualistic doctrine of Āgamikas be given up and Māyā be taken as the power of the Brahman by the Vedāntins and the two Vijñānas, the Alayavijñāna and the Pravṛttivijñāna, be taken as the manifestations of the Universal Consciousness by the Bauddhas— all the differences between these doctrines and the Trika syltem will disappear says Abhinavagupta in Bṛhatī Vimarśiṇī[2]. Therefore, a considerable amount of credit can be given to Kāśmīra Śaivism for effecting the unification of the different systems of philosophy and its striking features could not fail to attract the genius like Kṣemendra to imbibe the same in his works.

1. Karmeṇa preritaṁ buddhyā gṛhṇātiviṣayānpṛthak,
(BhM. p. 247, Āraṇyaparva, Verse 1249).

2. Āgameṣu dvaitavyākhyāmapāsya Brahmavāde avidyāṁ
Māyāśaktikṛtya vijñānadvayam ātmeśvarābhiprāyeṇa
nirūpya siddhyatyeṣa janaḥ.
(Pandey, K.C., Abhinavagupta—An Historical And Philosophical Study, p, 260).

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6

A Study of Kṣemendra

(A) As A Moral Teacher :

Every age requires for the integrated cultural set-up some leaders of thought and reform who can effectively influence and guide the people by placing their pioneering ideas before them. The poets can be the best contributors in this respect because they, being the most sensitive minds of any age, remain well conversant with the ways of the people and through their poetic compositions communicate their vision of the norm and the ideal to restore, preserve and foster the values of culture. Every society is imperfect and to bring about an all round perfection is impossible. A greater success can be achieved in this direction by placing higher and higher morals before the society. Kṣemendra lived in such a time when there was social disorder and a great need for interpreting and teaching the morals to the society. The Indian society always esteemed religious books for their teaching of morality and religious ideas. No one could ever challenge their value. When Kṣemendra found his society going astray he endeavoured to correct it by once again placing before it the teachings of the religious works like the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. He also placed certain morals through his other works of similar nature which sought to guide the people in their everyday life.

Kṣemendra's moral teachings are deep, broad-based and universal. His moral fabric has a three dimensional structure relating to the Personal self, the Social self and the Eternal self of every man. The literary assiduity which his own works show, point to a life of hard labour, strict discipline and regula-

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rity. He equipped himself with these fine qualities of mind in order to get access to the most able teachers under whom he studied. These teachers were highly disciplined and expected their pupils to be the same. Kṣemendra set some definite ideas before him and followed them as a true moralist would. To learn under great teachers for the development of the poetic faculty was considered by him a great necessity. The disciplined and regulated life which has been prescribed for a budding poet in KK[1] very clearly shows what sort of an ideal he framed for himself and desired his students also to follow. The family atmosphere in which he lived was such that he could not swerve from the idealistic path of friendship, co-operation, love for the society. charity, truth, forgiveness, patience and such other virtues. No teacher of moral behaviour can be as successful as the one who places himself as the moral. Kṣemendra had the idea of social reformation in his mind and therefore he first looked to the personal self in order to properly qualify himself as a moral teacher.

One can never be perfect if one tries for one's selfish advancement and remains self-centred. Man has a duty towards his fellow-beings and therefore he has to transcend his ego and the limited personal self to the extended social self where he can work for the human good. Here he keeps in view what qualities others are lacking in and in what way he can be a help in their welfare. He is in fact propelled by the moral ideas he sets for himself to strive for the common good. We find in Kṣemendra's works the same morals for the social self, which he had prescribed for his personal self. At a stage the personal and the social selves become one and the same—the two intimately related and fused aspects of one ideal personality.

Kṣemendra has the soul of a true moral teacher. In his works he shows a keen pre-occupation for social and spiritual reform. He is interested in moralising but, being a poet

1. KK. pp. 126-128, Sandhi II, Verses 2-22.

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essentially, his works show the indirect method of teaching in which the moral interest is nevertheless keen and cannot be overlooked. Most of such teachings are blended together in the body of his works and during the narrations invariably his moral appeals flow with a remarkable spontaneity. On many a problem of human life he comes before us as a guiding teacher. For an integrated and blissful life he has stressed the value of truth, humility, purity of both mind and body, contentment, uncovetousness, forgiveness, good conduct, perseverance, patience, reverance to the teachers, forbearance, compassion, peace and good speech. Most of the social problems can be solved by a cultivation of these qualities. There was no scarcity of moral codes even before Kṣemendra. But, inspite of their existence the people indulged in immoralities and thus there was a great need for a true interpretation of the morals and proper guidance. As pointed out earlier, the social conditions themselves turned Kṣemendra a teacher of moralistic ideas. He not only teaches the ideals to the common men but to the kings also. The women also are not excluded from his survey. In all such teachings he is very practical and realistic.

In the epitomes of Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhatkathā, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, his moral teachings are intertwined with the stories. Many a time these are made to evolve from the mouths of the characters and at times through the 'Subhāṣitas' or good sayings. In BKM he says that for the ocean of the world which is full of the venom of delusions, pride and vain-glory, the nectar is unenmity, modesty, good speech and fulfilment of the desires of the affectionates even at the cost of one's life[1], Dharma is a raft to cross the ocean of

1. Nirvairitā vinayatā priyavāditā ca
prāṇairapi praṇayināṁ priyapūraṇaṁ ca
Ityugramohamadamānaviṣolbaṇasya
saṁsāraghorajaladheramṛtacchaṭeva.
(BKM, p. 110, Lambaka IV, Guccha I, Verse. 98).

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the world and to pacify the faitgue and misery[1]. Humility, forgiveness, patience and perseverance are described as the best ornaments, ideal penance the giver of all success[2]. Those who are full of propriety show a bahaviour not bereft of humility, their speech is always full of truth and their prosperity possessed of fame[3]. The discriminating intellect, patience, contentment, forgiveness and the speech pleasing to others are the inborn qualities of those who are great. Their vision is always full of affection and the mind with friendship :

Vivekaḥ śamasaṁtoṣau kṣamā parahitodyamaḥ
Sarvatra maitramanasāmucitaṁ hi mahātmanām.

Snigdhā dṛṣṭirmanomaitrī vāṇī pīyūṣavarṣiṇī
Etāstāḥ satyatapasāṁ puṇyāḥ saṁtoṣabhūmayaḥ.[4]

At various places in BhM, RM and AKL, Kṣemendra gives the teaching of truth, courtesy, kindness and also appeals that nobility, uncapriciousness, compassion towards fellow beings, and unenmity can bring indomitable prosperity, add to

1. Jñātveti daarmapanthānaṁ śramaduḥkhaughaśāntaye
Dharma eva plavaḥ puṁsaṁ saṁsāramakarākare.
(BKM, p. 159, Lambaka VII, Guccha I, Verse 25).

2. Sarve kaṅkaṇakeyūrakuṇḍalapratimā guṇāḥ
Śīlaṁ tvakṛtrimāloke lāvaṇyamiva bhūṣaṇam.

Puṇyatīrthamanāyāsaṁ kraturadravyaḍambaraḥ
Aśoṣaṇaṁ śarīrasya kṣamā nāma paraṁ Tapaḥ.

Kṣetraṁ ta eva puṇyasya bhājanaṁ yaśasāṁ ca te
Prarūḍhā hṛdaye yeṣāṁ kṣāntivallī mahāphalā.
Iti utsāhadhairyāṇāṁ savayaṁ siddhiḥ prajāyate
Utsāho dharmavīryāṇāṁ mūlaṁ sattva mahātaroḥ.
BKM, pp. 258-259, Lambaka IX, Guccha I, Verses 523, 530, 531, 535.

3. RM, p. 274, Sundarakāṇḍa, Verses 516.

4. Ibid., p. 49, Ayodhyakāṇḍa, Verses 595, 596.

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one's virtues, and command respect from all.[1] Good conduct is also capable of bringing the riches.[2] The pursuit of enjoyments impedes the progress of man and leads him to the sinful path. Kṣemendra again and again warns against such indulgences by dubbing them as transitory :

> Taraṅgabhaṇgurābhogā dṛṣṭanaṣṭā vibhūtayaḥ.
> Dhanaṁ yauvanamāyuśca nityaśokasya kiṁ śucā.[3]

> Śayyāstāstanutūlapeśalatalāḥ sā hemaharmyasthitistāḥ keyūrakirīṭahāraracanāste kuñjarāste hayāḥ
> Bhogāstebhimatā na kasya sukhadāḥ kiṁ tvakṣipakṣmāñcalacchede sarvamanantyamanyavaśagaṁ dṛśyaṁ na kiñcitkvacit.[4]

Kṣemendra's moral teachings are not confined to some verses only found interspersed in his various works. We also find his independent works on this subject. DU and NM, which are his satirical poems, are written with a highly moral purpose and aim at reforming the society which had completely degenerated by the presence of many rogues and shady characters. By exposing such characters Kṣemendra endeavoured to alert the people and direct them to meritorious

1. Satyamuttamasattvānāṁ dākṣiṇyaṁ kīrtiśālinām
Adrohaḥ sādhuvṛttānāṁ vilāsasadanaṁ śriyaḥ.
(BhM, p. 23, Ādiparva, Verse 270).
Saujanyamanasūyā ca kṣāntirdhairyamacāpalam
Ityeṣa viduṣāmagre guṇamānasamuccayaḥ.
(RM, p. 69, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Verse 853).
Aucityacārucaritaṁ prasādaviśadaṁ manaḥ
Vātsalyapeśalāvāṇī na kasyādarabhūmaḥ.
(AKL, p. 61, Avadāna 6, Verse 170).
2. Sadācārapravṛttānāṁ yathāśāstrānusāriṇāṁ
Svakarmasaktamanasāṁ svayamāyāti saṁpadaḥ.
(BhM, p. 626, Śāntiparva, Verse 1059).
3. RM, p. 187, Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, Verse 199.
4. DAC, p. 158, Avatāra IX, Verse 68.

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living. He adopted two methods for such teaching. The first by satire which he thought had a quicker and deeper effect. The second, by way of direct instruction which is meant for the simple-minded people. There is speciality about this second method where he gives a story for the support of every such teaching and thereby strives to make his readers understand the propriety of a particular deed. For such support he gives mostly the stories which have a mythological origin. This he thought was equally important because mythology always appealed to the Indian mind and there was no other simpler method of achieving the desired object of training and guiding the people. DU and NM come in the first category while SU, KV, DD, CC, CS and SM come in the second. The exposition of vanity, greed and arrogance found in KV has a definite didactic purpose behind it. About vanity is said that serpents are caught by the power of incantation, the innocent deer by music, the birds by the net spread on the ground and the human beings by vanity[1]. A detailed exposition of different types of vanities which the poet has given provides a very good warning against it. Greed is another evil which removes the sense of discrimination of good and bad and under its sway various types of deceptions work[2]. Similarly, arrogance is another enemy residing in the hearts of all, overpowered by which one does not listen and see[3]. The places of its abode

1. Mantrabalena bhujaṅgā mugdhakuraṅgā kūṭayantreṇa
   Sthalajālena vihaṅgā gṛhyante mānavāśca dambhena.
   (KV, p. 39, Canto I, Verse 44).

2. Lobhaḥ sadā vicintyo lubdhebhyaḥ sarvato bhayaṁ dṛṣṭam
   Kāryākāryavicāro lobhākṛṣṭasya nāstyeva.
   Tasmāllobhasamutthā kapaṭakalā kuṭilavartinī māyā
   Lubdhahṛdayeṣu nivasati nālubdho vañcanāṁ kurute.
   (KV, pp. 43, 50, Canto II, Verses 1, 89).

3. Ekaḥ sakalajanānāṁ hṛdayeṣu kṛtāspado madaḥ śatruḥ
   Yenāviṣṭaśarīro na śṛṇoti na paśyati stabdhaḥ.
   (KV, p. 63, Canto VI, Verse 1).

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which have been counted show what study the poet had done of the human behaviour. The different methods of roguery enumerated in KV are for the information of the people and not for emulation. For prosperity, the wise follow the righteous path :

> Etā vañcakamāyā vijñeyā na tu punaḥ svayaṁ sevyāḥ
> Dharmyaḥ kalākalapo viduṣāmayamīpsito bhūtyai[1].

Kṣemendra considers that the four attainments of human life, viz., Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa should be aimed at achieving the higher ends. For example, compassion towards the beings, doing good to others, charity, forgiveness, friendliness, truth, absence of greed and affection are the qualities of Dharma[2]. As for the attainments of the remaining three 'Vargas', Kṣemendra prescribes the similar requisites in CS. Modesty, charity, truth, patience, chastity, knowledge, compassion, protection of the lives of others, unattachment towards the wealth of others, affection, forgiveness and praise of others have been again and again stressed for the attainment of Dharma. For the attainment of 'Artha', Kṣemendra has advised to earn it through lawful means and save it but not through niggardliness. He is very much opposed to begging and slashes at it in most of his works[3]. As regards 'Kāma' he is not in favour of downright rejection of it. It is very

1. KV, p. 76, Canto X, Verse 1.
2. Dharmasya kalā jyeṣṭhā bhūtadayākhyā paropakāraśca
   Dānaṁ kṣamānasūyā satyamalobhaḥ prasādaśca.
   (KV, p. 76, Canto X, Verse 2).
3. Dhāvansevitumeti sādhuradhamaṁ vandhyastato yātyasau
   nītā mūlyatulāṁ guṇāśca guṇibhiḥ kaścinna gṛhṇātitān
   Yāñcā mānamahāśanirdhanakṛtā prāptaṁ na kiñcittayā
   kiṁ kiṁ vā na vidhīyate dhanadhiyā dhanyaḥ sa yasyāsti tat.
   (CS, p. 92, Pariccheda II, Verse 22).

   AKL, p. 472, Avadāna 80, Verse 45.

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difficult to keep away from it and therefore it should be enjoyed but its excess be avoided. In its enjoyment Kṣemendra has suggested that its real art and joy is to attire oneself decently, develop tenderness, beauty, virtues, various sports and the knowledge of the mind of women.[1] For attaining 'Mokṣa,' "viveka", patience, killing of desires, contentment, detachment from enjoyments and concentration upon the Supreme Reality has been considered essential[2] As all the worldly things are transitory, there is an even greater need for its attainment. All the mortal bonds can be snapped by it.[3] More comprehensive teachings are given by the poet in the tenth canto of KV. There he has drawn a comparision between the virtuous and the virtueless. This is done by him to educate the people to follow the good and discard evil. These teachings are to be followed for the everyday behaviour. They have a message of co-operation and friendship in every possible way. Higher social standards can be achieved by following them. Besides the teachings of charity, compassion, etc., there are other teachings like reverance to the elders, self-respect and the attainment of fame which can be useful even in these days.

The teachings which are given in DD for the eradication of the family, wealth, knowledge, beauty, valour, charity and penance establish Kṣemendra as a moral teacher more firmly. Mostly, people get intoxicated through these and look

1. Kāmasya veṣaśobhā peśalatā cārutā guṇotkarṣaḥ
   Nānāvidhāśca līlāścittajñānaṁ ca kāntānām.
   (KV, p. 76, Canto X, Verse 4).
2. KV, p. 76, Canto X, Verse 5.
3. Cittaṁ vātavikāsipāṁsusacivaṁ rūpaṁ dināntātapaṁ
   bhogaṁ durgatagehabandhacapalaṁ puṣpasmitaṁ yauvanam
   Svapnaṁ bandhusamāgamaṁ tanumapi prasthānapuṇyaprapāṁ
   nityaṁ cintayatāṁ bhavanti na satāṁ bhūyo bhavagranthayaḥ.
   (CS, p. 100, Pariccheda IV, Verse 23).

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down upon others.[1] Arrogance is born of these and people are deluded. Through the aid of some mythological stories and some from his own imagination, the poet proves their transient nature and leaves the message that one should not be proud of these things. The futility of the pride of the family is illustrated by him :

Kulasya kamalasyeva mūlamanviṣyate yadi
Doṣapaṇkaprasaktāntas tadāvaśyaṁ prakāśate.[2]

He considers that the best kind of nobility and virtuousness is to bow down before the great and possess the compassion which is the best knowledge, adhere to truth the inexhaustible wealth, and modesty the key to success in life.[3] Those who have developed minds, possess maiden prosperity, family without any imputation and knowledge immaculate by the absence of pride.[4] Jealousy defiles all and affection brings wealth, pride brings degradation and benevolence begets prosperity.[5] On every kind of false pride Kṣemendra thus casts slur and

1. Kulaṁ vittaṁ śrutaṁ rūpaṁ śauryaṁ dānaṁ tapastathā
Prādhānyena manuṣyāṇāṁ saptaite madahetavaḥ
(DD, p. 66, Vicāra I, Verse 4).

2. DD, p. 66, Vicāra I, Verse 7.

3. Etadeva kulīnatvam etadeva guṇārjanam
Yat sadaiva satāṁ satsu vinayāvanataṁ śiraḥ.
Dayaiva viditā vidyā satyamevākṣayaṁ dhanam.
Akalaṅkavivekānāṁ śīlamevāmalaṁ kulam.
(DD, p. 68, Vicāra I, Verses 29, 30).

4. Abhogasubhagā bhūtir adainyadhavalaṁ kulam
Adarpaviśadā vidyā bhavatyunnatacetasām.
(DD, p. 69, Vicāra I, Verse 31).

5. Dveṣaḥ kasya na doṣāya prītiḥ kasya na bhūtaye
Darpaḥ kasya na pātāya nonnatyai kasya namratā.
(DD, p. 69, Vicāra I, Verse 32).

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proves its impropriety. His advice is to remove tho passion of desires by the cooling effects of 'Śama' and nectar-like contentment, and to remain detached from enjoyments and be engaged in the good of others which alone constitutes 'Tapa'.[1]

The teachings for an ideal life given in CC are meant for day to-day behaviour. Here also are found the teachings of truth, good company, respect for parents, charity, protection of the lives and the like with due illustrations of the mythological characters who had to suffer for the absence of such qualities or who were happy as they possessed these qualities.

Most of the teachings of morality found in Kṣemendra's works do not appear as mere exordiums with a merely theoretical value. They are more practical and were written with this very purpose in mind. The society needed such a teacher who could guide without any bias in the advancement of the people and warn them of the evils.

The third aspect of the moral teachings of Kṣemendra is to try for the Eternal self. After the duty to the Social self it is all the more necessary that the relationship with God is not forgotten. The devotional poems which Kṣemendra has written have a very significant appeal that in every walk of life one must remember God. He places this as the highest aim before himself and the people in general. In almost every work, whenever he finds occasion, he has sung in adoration of God. In BKM, at various places, he sings in praise of Lord

1. Praśāntontastṛṣṇāviṣamaparitāpaḥ śamajalai-
raśeṣaḥ saṁtoṣāmṛtavisarapānena vapuṣaḥ
Asaṅgaḥ saṁbhogaḥ kamaladalakīlālatulayā
bhavāraṇye puṁsāṁ parahitamudāraṁ khalu tapaḥ.
(DD, p. 118, Vicāra VII, Verse 73).

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Śiva.[1] The devotion to Lord Kṛṣṇa and Rāma is apparent in BhM and RM. In CC he mentions that every work should be started after worshipping Lord Slva and one should always remain busy in the worship of God.[2] The concentration on the Supreme Reality is a means to salvation which is mentioned in CS.[3] AKL and DAC have also been written with the same purpose. Of the ten incarnations of Lord Viṣṇu he has sung in deepest devotion which shows what regard he had in his mind towards the worship of God and how he wanted all to achieve the ultimate aim of life. Resorting to the forests and the company of the noble, listening to the teachings of 'Sama' and 'Dharma', rememberance of the deeds of Lord Viṣṇu can help in attaining the release from the bonds of the world.[4] In this way Kṣemendra has kept up the morals for his Eternal self as well as for others. The attainment of the goal of human life would not be possible if all indulged in the worldly enjoyments of impermanent nature—this question of vital importance finds solution in Kṣemendra's teaching about the devotion to God.

Thus, we find that the moral teachings of Kṣemendra are not limited to a narrow field. To every sphere of human life he extended his opinion to bring in the perfection to humanity. He could have been content in himself without

1. BKM, p. 215, Lambaka IX, Guccha I, Verse I.
   Ibid, pp. 473-474, Lambaka XIV, Verse 57-66.

2. Na kurvīta kriyāṁ kāṁcid anabhyarcya Maheśvaram
   Iśārcanaratam Śvetaṁ nā bhūnnetuṁ Yamaḥ kṣamaḥ.
   (CC, p. 128, Verse 4).

3. CS, pp. 97-101, Pariccheda IV.

4. Puṇyānyahīnahariṇāni tapovanāni
   satsaṅgatāni śamadharmavivecanāni
   Etāni tāni bhavabandhavimocanāni
   carcocitāni caritāni ca Cakrapāṇiḥ.
   (DAC,p.3,Avatāra I,Verse 17).

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caring for anybody but his ideals were different. His love for humanity bound him, and therefore, he was forcefully drawn towards the teaching of morality.

(B) As A Social Thinker :

A wide range of subjects which Kṣemendra takes up in his works provide him a good opportunity to give his opinion on many a problem of the day. His keen observant eye visualises every corner of the society. The problems which the society was facing in those days have already been discussed. Of these, he is not a mere observer making note of them, he goes further and suggests a remedy for them.

During the time of Kṣemendra king Ananta was the ruler. He does not give any details about his reign. In NM he writes that the king uprooted the Kāyasthas and thus removed the miseries of the subjects.[1] In SM some of the good qualities of King Ananta have been mentioned.[2] But, these are not sufficient to declare him as a very successful administrator. Several times Kṣemendra gives various teachings which show that he wanted the king to possess a different set of qualities, being the head of the society. Kalhaṇa has meationed that Ananta was excessively given to pleasures. Kṣemendra seems to be aware of this but he does not directly mention it. He definitely wanted the king to have the strong reins of administration for the betterment of the subjects. In BKM he has mentioned that the kings are bound by Cupid as the elephants who indulge in enjoyments. By maladministration the king's riches vanish as does the fame by bad deeds and knowledge by bad habits.[3] He further says that the king's wealth perishes by

1. NM, p. 1, Parihāsa I, Verse 5.
2. SM, p. 58, Verse 4.
3. Mandamantharasañcāra vilāsālasadarśinaḥ
   Satyaṁ smareṇa badhyante rājānaḥ kuñjarā iva.

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arrogance as the women perish by the show of miracles and the deer by music.[1] The king must have 'Śīla' as the ornament as the wise have nobility.[2] He should bring up his subjects with Dharma, give Brāhmaṇas first place in the society, keep his policies secret, look into the public affairs and be modest and kind. Then only his Dharma would not perish.[3] In RM the king is advised not to have a desire for the women of others because he is the protector and not the destroyer :

Lajjaiṣā yadi bhūpālaḥ paradārān parāmṛśet
Trātāro yadi hantāro rakṣitāro nu tatra ke.[4]

He is further advised to protect the subjects and annihilate the dacoits and not to have any desire for the riches and wives of others. By this he can earn unstained fame and wealth.[5] He

Kīrtayaḥ kukṛteneva vyasneneva buddhayaḥ.
Sahasaiva vinaśyanti durnayeneva nṛpaśriyaḥ.
(BKM, p. 68, Lambaka III, Guccha I, Verses 5, 6).

1. Kautukeneva kāminyo gīteneva mṛgāṅganāḥ
Darpāṅkureṇa naśyanti peśalā nṛpatiśriyaḥ.
(BKM, p. 616, Lambaka XVIII, Verse 201).

2. Śīlamābharaṇaṁ rājñāṁ saujanyaṁ viduṣāmiva
Śīlena rājate lakṣmīrvasanteneva mañjarī.
(Bhm, p. 577, Śāntiparva, Verse 465).

3. Brāhmaṇān puratah kṛtvā prajā dharmeṇa pālayet
Caturbhāgaharo rājā prajānām puṇyapāpayoḥ.
Tasya saṁvṛtamantrasya prajākāryāṇi paśyataḥ
Vadānyasyānṛśaṁsasya kvaciddharmo na lupyate.
(BhM, p. 566, Śāntiparva, Verses 328, 329).

4. RM, p. 148, Āraṇyaparva, Verse 866.

5. Prajānāṁ yatparitrāṇa dasyūnāṁ yat pramārjanam
Sa rājñāṁ paramo mantraḥ śeṣaḥ svairakathāraṣaḥ.
Parārthe paradāreṣu na yeṣāṁ dhīḥ pravartate
Teṣāṁ pavitrayaśasāṁ kalatraṁ sarvasaṁpadaḥ.
(RM, p. 312, Yuddhakāṇḍa, Verses 291, 292).

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can add to his wealth by the proper employment of 'Sandhi' and 'Vigraha' keeping in view the place and time. If he is weak he should try for 'Sandhi' and if strong he should wage war.[1] Kṣemendra considers it the duty of the king to remove poverty and unemployment :

Sa rājā rajate rājye prajānāṁ dharmapālanāt
No caranti pure yasya dīnāḥ kāryārthinaściram.[2]

Kṣemendra considers the king to be the guide to all in the performance of all kinds of deeds. If the king does not appreciate the virtues then nobody would devote himself to seek the knowledge. If he is religious and intelligent then knowledge is promoted amongst the subjects.[3] If he does not protect the subjects from great fear his wearing the crown is undeserving.[4] The king's sins are to be held responsible for all calamities that befall the subjects.[5] The people follow the king in every way.

1. Deśakālocitau yasya satataṁ sandhivigrahau
Bhrūkṣepamātrānugatāḥ pārśvasthāstasya saṁpadaḥ.
Kuryannūnabalaḥ sandhiṁ jyāyān kurvīta vigraham
Tulyakṣayabhayānnityamupekṣitasamaḥ samam.
(RM, pp. 318-319, Yuddhakāṇḍa, Verses 368, 369).

2. RM, p. 479, Uttarakāṇḍa, Verse 901.

3. Guṇāpamānakṛd yatra mūrkho bhavati bhūpatiḥ.
Na karoti janastatra vidyārjanapariśramam.
Vivekavimalāloke dharmārāme mahīpatau
Loke vidyāḥ pravartante sadācārakriyā iva,
(AKL, p. 249, Avadāna 39, Verses 34, 39 .

4. Trāṇaṁ mahābhayādrājā prajānāṁ na karoti yaḥ.
Tasya spaṣṭaṁ naṭasyeva kirīṭamukuṭagrahaḥ.
(AKL, p. 276, Avadāna 42, Verse 11).

5. Durbhikṣakṣayitā vipakṣapatanapratyakṣalakṣye kṣaye
rogodvegasamāhitāḥ pṛthutarakleśāvalīvihvalāḥ
Hāhākāraviśṛṅkhalāḥ khalatarairatyarditā vallabhaiḥ
śocantyaḥ pralayaṁ prayāntyaśaraṇāḥ pāpairnṛpāṇāṁ prajāḥ.
(AKL, p. 279, Avadāna 42, Verse 13).

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If the king shows his interest then the arts, sports and qualities of character of the subjects improve. In seeking knowledge and valour also the subjects follow his example in every way.[1] The perverse attitude of the kings is described in DAC that they always doubt even the truth and are always accompained by cheats, even a great favour done to them goes futile, they are enraged by a little mistake, get annoyed by the advice, calumniate, do not like the religious and witty words, envy the noble and keep the rogues as their friends.[2] He has further advised such kings to pay their attention to the work of the subjects, listen to the words of the distressed, remove 'Kāma', anger, arrogance and pride, protect the earth from the Kāyasthas and misers and encourage the virtuous, by which wealth can be attained.[3] All these references show that Kṣemendra knew as to where the main defect of social maladjustment lay. He, therefore, suggested that the king should

1. Sā sā kalā sa sa vilāsaviśeṣaleśaste te
guṇāḥ sa sa janaścaritaṁ ca tattat
Loke priyatvamadhirohati yatra yatra
rājā karoti sarasaḥ kṣaṇamādarāṁśaṁ.
Bhūpāle viduṣi spṛśatyatiśayaṁ vidyāvilāsotsavam
śūre saṅgararaṅgasaṅgamarucirgṛhṇāti vīravratam
Mūḍhe muhyati cañcale vicalati krūre nṛśaṁsāyate
yadyadbhūmipatiḥ karotī kurute tattatsamasto janaḥ.

(AKL, p. 327, Avadāna 53, Verses 21,22).

2. Satye śaṅkācakitamatayo vañcakagrāmalīnāḥ
śailasthūlopakṛtiviphalāḥ svalpadoṣetikopāḥ
Mantrodvignāḥ piśunavacanā dharmanarmoktiduṣṭāḥ
sādhudviṣṭāḥ prakhalasuhṛdaḥ sarvadā bhūmipālāḥ

(DAC, p. 65, Avatāra VII, Verse 203).

3. Prajākārye saktiḥ śravaṇamabhibhūtāvacasāṁ
spṛhā kāmakrodhapramadamadamānavyuparame
Kṣiteḥ kāyasthebhaḥ kṛpaṇaparirakṣā pratipadaṁ
guṇāsaṅgaḥ śreyānayamudayalakṣmyā kṣitibhṛtām.

(DAC, p. 146, Avatāra VIII, Verse 822).

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always look for improving the status of the subjects. The neglect of the subjects by the king was the problem before Kṣemendra to which he gave much thinking and strove for the betterment of the society by reminding the king's duties towards the people.

Kṣemendra's searching eyes discovered yet another evil in the society and we find him talking about the growing indiscipline amongst women who are the back-bone of the society. He found out the debased morality prevalent in them, and therefore, at various places we find him ridiculing them. He, in general, seems to have had a rather poor opinion about the women folk. Many a time he advises that one should never believe in them. They are very fickle-minded as he describes them and says that they despoil the noble families by immoral acts. In DU such women have been exposed who, though being of the noble families, indulge in cuckoldom.[2] Similar

1. Māyākuhakakauṭilyakalākośā hi yoṣitaḥ.
Aho nisargamalinaṁ kuṭilaṁ strīviceṣṭitam
Sodvegā kaluṣā rūkṣā nimnagā iva nimnagāḥ.
Aho nu yoṣito nāma kopi doṣasamuccayaḥ
Apyanviṣṭā na labhyante saṁtyaktā na tyajanti ca.
Vāsanā iva saṁsāramohanaikaratāṁ striyam.

(BKM, pp. 192, 206, Guccha I, Verses 418, 588, 589 590).
BhM, p. 657, Śāntiparva, Verses 1455, 1456.

Vibhaveṣvanurāgiṇyo virāgiṇyo vipatsu ca
Anāryāḥ kṛcchrasaṁbhāryāḥ puruṣāṁ hi yoṣitaḥ.
Subaddhā api śīryante mlāniṁ yānti kṣaṇena ca
Dūrasthā eva śobhante puṣpamālā ivāṅganāḥ.
Yāsāmoṣṭhapuṭe rāgaḥ paraṁ malinatā hṛdi
Gaṇabhrāntyeva muṣṇanti jānīte kastadāśayam.
Āsannadoṣāścapalāḥ krūrakarmaparigrahāḥ
Etā muhūrtarāgiṇyo ghorāḥ saṁdhyā iva striyaḥ.

(RM, p. 117, Araṇyaparva, Verses 470-473).

2. DU, pp. 24-25, Upadeśa VIII, Verses 8-10.

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deprecation of women is found in KV, that they lure the men to enjoyments and then make them dance like sport peacocks. In every way they deceive men and are never faithful.[1] AKL also presents the women in no better terms.[2] All these references show that Kṣemendra was fully aware of the gross immorality of women which had a very bad repercussion on society of that time. He tackles these problems not by neglecting them altogether because they would have worsened the situation. He, therefore, suggests some essential ideals for them. In BKM he says that the noble women always cherish the prosperity of their husbands.[3] They should always be devoted to their husbands and this alone can help them attain the highest place in the next world.[4] 'Śīla' is the prosperity of women. They are worshipped due to this quality.[5] Kṣemendra

1. Dīrghavyasananiruddho bhrūbhaṅgajño vidheyatāṁ yātaḥ
Viṣayavivaśo manuṣyaḥ keliśikhaṇḍīva nartyate strībhiḥ.
Raktākarṣaṇasaktā māyābhirmohatimirarajanīṣu
Nāryaḥ piśācikā iva haranti hṛdayāni mugdhānām.
Saṁsāracitramāyāṁ śambaramāyāṁ vicittimāyāṁ ca
Yo jānāti jitātmā sopi na jānāti yoṣitāṁ māyām.
(KV, p. 50, Canto III, Verses 4, 5, 7).

2. AKL, p. 76, Avadāna 8, Verses 62-65 and 69.

3. Bharturabhyudayaikāgrasaṅkalpā hi kulāṅganāḥ.
(BKM, p. 492, Lambaka XIV, Verse 285).

4. Nātaḥ paratarāṁ kiñcitkulastrīṇāṁ paraṁ vratam
yat sadā bhaktipūtena manasā bhartṛsevanam.
Saṁmukhaṁ nihatāḥ śūrā jñānaniṣṭhāstapasvinaḥ
prayānti paramaṁ dhāma bhartṛbhaktā hi yoṣitaḥ.
(RM, p. 106, Araṇyaparva, Verses 336, 337).

Patyau samastasaṁkalpakalpavṛkṣe tirohite
Pitā bandhuḥ suto bhrātā niṣphalaḥ kila yoṣitām.
(RM, p. 186, Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, Verse 188).

5. Nāntaḥpurairna vāsobhiḥ na janotsāraṇaiḥ puraḥ
bhavanti pūjitā nāryaḥ śīlaṁ tāsāṁ samunnatiḥ.
Vidyevātmavivekena satyeneva sarasvatī
prajñeva dharmamārgeṇa nārī śīlena pūjyate.
(RM, p. 397, Verses 74, 75).

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reminds the women of their important role in the society. In all sorts of even and uneven circumstances they help men :

Yaṣṭiḥ prakṛṣṭā nayanāndhakāre
chāyā vipattāpapariśrameṣu
Padacyutānāṁ viṣameṣu puṁsāṁ
nāstyeva jāyāsadṛśaḥ sahāyaḥ.[1]

Some of the women in order to have sway over their husbands used some love potions. Their belief in the occult sciences has already been mentioned. To such women also Kṣemendra has advised to develop their inner qualities like 'Śīla' and devotion to their husbands instead of taking to odd methods which resulted in crippling their husbands. It is interesting to note that in every kind of social problem Kṣemendra does not stand as a mere onlooker. As a responsible person of the society he approaches to the problems with an idea of solving them. He is not satisfied only by awakening the women about their responsibility towards their husbands. He fully understands the duty of the men also. Without the equal cooperation of men and women the society cannot progress and therefore suggests that men should not sit idle but work to earn money. A man has no right to marry if he wants to keep away from work and remain idle. It is the duty of the man to go out and earn money and not of the woman. All the riches remain there where man is ever enthusiastic to do the work

1. AKL, p. 359, Avadāna 59, Verse 107.

2. Ayuktamuktaṁ subhage bhavatyā dharmavarjitam
vaśyadoṣakriyā strīṇāṁ bhartṛdrohārhapātakam.
Vaśyaprayogairyoṣidbhiḥ kuṣṭhāpasmārarogiṇaḥ
bhagnabhā, yāśca patayo mūkāndhabadhirāḥ kṛtāḥ.
Bhaktiścittagrahaḥ śīlaṁ satīnāṁ bhartṛbheṣajam.

(DAC, p. 120, Avatāra VIII, Verses 512, 513, 514).

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outside the house and woman engages herself in the domestic work.[1]

Kṣemendra also noticed many other evils which were responsible for the degeneration of the society. The unprecedented increase in prostitution was affecting the economic condition of the society. The misers wers hoarding money and there was unequal distribution of wealth. The Kāyasthas were engaged in taking bribes and the rogues were deceiving the people. All these inequities were shaking the monetary stablity of the society. Kṣemendra gave much thought to these social injustices and offered two-fold solution to these. On the one hand he ridicules these elements in general in every work, especially in NM, KV, DD and SM, while on the other he rouses public consciousness by teaching development of moral behaviour, character, charity, truth, etc., so that the society may free itself from menacing evils. Towards the integration of the society he stresses the importance of communities.[2] If there is no harmony between kinsmen, expectations of harmony in the society as a whole would be impossible and therefore it is first and foremost that they love their own men before they can love others.

Man cannot live by himself alone. In every walk of life he needs admirers and friends. Kṣemendra has given thought to the relationship of friends also. In RM it is said that such

1. Udyogadveṣiṇastīvramālasyaṁ yasya vallabham
bahuvyayapravāhārhaṁ vivāhaṁ sa karoti kim.
Yasyālasyādgṛhapatirgṛhakoṇaṁ na muñcati
dhanārjanāya niryāntu mugdhāstatra kimaṅganāḥ.
Sotsāhaḥ puruṣo yatra vyavahāraratirbahiḥ
gṛhavyāpārasaktā strī sarvāstatra susampadaḥ.
(AKL, pp. 465-466, Avadāna 79, Verses 13-15).

2. Nāsti jñātisamaṁ vittaṁ nāsti jñātisamā dhṛtiḥ
Nāsti jñātisamā chāyā nāsti jñātisamaḥ priyaḥ.
(AKL, p. 102, Avadāna 11, Verse 95).

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friends who speak consoling words during distress, and during good times behave with modesty, are gained through meritorious deeds. Those who are really great, consider friends above all other gains and consider it a matter of duty to help their friends monetarily. In practice they always abide by good conduct and when passessed of power they work for the good of others.[1]

The ridicule of servitude which is found in his works, especially in SU, shows that Kṣemendra did not like the superiority of a section of the people over another. The treatment which the servants received at the hands of their masters was against his concept of an ideal society and therefore his sensitive mind revolted against it. Servitude kills self-respect and for a moralist like Kṣemendra its continuance in the society was unbearable. He, therefore, devoted one of his works fully to deprecate this social injustice.

Thus, the reformist in Kṣemendra attacks the social problems of his times and suggests the ways and means to bring the society to greatness. A strong hand in admistration always keeps the society away from many evils. The prosperity of the people lies in their decent behaviour and observance of the ethical principles. Both men and women have to share their respective responsibilities towards achieving this aim. Kṣemendra's teachings are extremely useful even for the

1. Duḥkhe vivekavaktāraḥ sukhe viṇayavādinaḥ
Puṇyabhājāṁ bhavantyeva suhṛdo hṛdayapriyāḥ.
(RM, p. 174, Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, Verse 45).

Ratnabhūmyādilābhānāṁ mitralābho mahodayaḥ
Ātmakāryaṁ na kurute mitrakāryaṁ na karoti yaḥ.
Imāṁ prāṇapaṇenāpi śriyamicchanti māninaḥ
Suhṛdāmupakārāya dviṣatāṁ vigrahāya ca.
Vyavahāre sadācāraṁ mitraṁ vibhavasambhave
Śaktau paropkāraṁ ca smaranti sukṛtocitāḥ.
(RM, p. 190, Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, Verses 29-31).

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modern society where there is a greater need for mutual harmony, brotherhood and friendliness.

(C) *His Estimate as a Poet and a Critic :*

(a) Kṣemendra as a Poet :

Like all good and great poetry, the poetry of Kṣemendra is the criticism of life. He is not an escapist like many poets who live in a world of mere fancy far away from reality. Art for them exists for the sake of art, description for the sake of description. They look at life from a distance—from the ivory tower of beauty. Kṣemendra chooses poetry as the medium for communicating his varied and rich experiences of life. 'Poetry for the sake of life' was his motto and therefore he does not circumscribe the field of his poetry to a limited sphere but broadens it to make it accessible to many, which, otherwise would have been limited to a few.

The characteristic feature of his poetry is that it is not imaginary but is imaginative. To create this striking result he has paid his full attention to make its form and content more intense and comprehensive. As mentioned earlier, the epitomes of Bṛhatkathā, Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa written by him are not merely abridged versions. They contain in them ideas about real life, which, he thought, were being ignored. Great poets like Vālmīki and Vyāsa were not merely sages who had renounced the world and were living in the world of contemplation. Their poetry consisted of a study of life. The aspect of their poetry had a telling effect on the mind of Kṣemendra. He never wanted to remain in the world of dreams but concerned himself to remain in touch with the realities of life. For this purpose he followed the foot steps of the great poets and strove to write the epitomes of the Epics. This assiduity broadened his outlook and made him feel more deeply about life. DU and NM are the expressions of his feelings towards the oddities of the society. In these works we find his poetry

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to have assumed a special form to depict life as it was during his time. The contents of DU and NM show that the poet is concerned more with society than anything else. He dives deep to study the hearts of the people and finds them drifting away from realities and falling prey to vanities. So he further regulates the scope of his poetry by dealing with the problems of a more complex nature viz, the growing snares of the courtesans, the treacherous activities of the Kāyastha community, some of the vicious practices of his times and above all the vanities which were creeping into the nature of the people. Here his poetry is not merely sarcastic, it is suggestive. The poetry of Kṣemendra comes nearer to life when it establishes the relationship of human beings with God. The prefection of of life is in the knowledge of God. This is the real truth. Reminding us of this relationship, his poetry transcends the limitations placed by different religions and strives to bring a synthesis between them. It will be incorrect to say that his poetry is only a realistic exposition of life and has nothing to do with idealism. If that were the case with Kṣemendra he would have merely written satires. On the contrary we find that in many of his works he not only puts the idealism of devotion and worship to God but also certain ideals that have a purely practical bearing on life. Satire is one aspect of his poetry and idealism another. These two aspects are very finely blended together and his works show a superb fusion of the realist and the idealist.

The secret of this success is a rich and vigorous imaginativeness with which Kṣemendra is so eminently gifted. Being a criticism of life, the poetry covers a wide field and also being idealistic, is replete with appeals of a universal nature. His poems are not mere sociological tracts; there is at the centre always a rich and intense cxperience coupled with an honest and edifying vision. He feels about the problems of life with the instinct of his poetry because he was preoccupied with the

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study of life and had to rise from the imaginary level to the core of vision where the form becomes subsidiary to the content or the form and content are fused into perfection. For mere sociological tracts he would have chosen prose and not poetry as his medium.

(i) *The Poetic Style :*

The poetry of Kṣemendra, which views the various aspects of human life, adopts a style suitable to the nature of the particular subject he is dealing with. It may be pointed out that a poet, whose poetry carries a theme of life, is bound by certain limitations and his style cannot be expected to be uniform as one may find in the case of a poet who toys with his imaginary ideas away from the realities of life. Kṣemendra does not adopt the same style in all his works. The earlier works present a simple style following the tradition of the Epics. For compressing the great bulk of the Epics and the Bṛhatkathā, a simple style was all the more necessary. Moreover, the message of these Epics, which he wanted to convey to the degenerating society would have lost its purpose and value if he had tried to improve upon it. The rhythmic effect of the Epic poetry would also have been lost. In order to attain his desired aim he has carefully maintained a lucidity all through. The style does not change in DU and NM. The poet has tried to be as simple as he could. The object of this seems to be that the poet wrote these for a common man's understanding so that he may be able to read and profit by it. Here the style is tainted with a type of satire which sometimes stoops to frivolity.[1] In others works like KV, DD, SU, CC, CS and SM his style is very flowing, having poise and equilibrium sweetness and delecacy. For example :

Sandhyayā kṣiprarāgiṇyā nirastaḥ paritāpavān
Nīrāgaḥ sāgarajale cikṣepa tapanastanum.

1. DU, p. 23, Upadeśa VII, Verse 31.
NM, p. 29, Parihāsa III, Verses 31, 33.

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Tatastimirasaṁbhārairvārarāmāprasādhane
Kṛṣṇāgurubharodbhūtadhūpadhūmodgamāyitam.
Yāminīkāminīkīrṇakeśapāśopamaṁ tamaḥ
Dīpacampakamālābhirviśrāntiniyamaṁ yayau.[1]

Here the evening and darkness have been described in a very elegant style. In AKL also, keeping the simplicity of style, the poet has in most cases interlaced a number of good sayings. The clearness of expression, charm and force are other distinguishing features here. While explaining the moral code of behaviour, his style is lucid and forceful. The important teachings are always supported by very good sayings. Many a time he brings in the compounds and preserves them to bring in euphony. For example :

Gurujanakopasamudgamarāhunigīrṇaprabhāvasūryānām
Vitathaparivādaviklavakṛṣṇadinadinapatikṣapitacaritacandrāṇām.
Guṇigaṇadūṣaṇanipatitaguṇavararatnaprabhādaridrāṇām
Bahutaraduṣkṛtapariṇatipavanāhativigalitanetradīpānām.
Bhavavipulajaladavidyuttaralataraśrīprakāśarahitānām.
Puṇaiḥ prasarati punarapi dharmasmaraṇanavālokaḥ.[2]

Here, along with the compounds, Kṣemendra has preserved the force of expression and simplicity. Kṣemendra has himself said about poetry, that force, beautiful combination of words and suitable figures of speech delight the hearts of all but besides these, poetry should be embedded with strikingly good sayings which will touch and influence the listener like the side-glances of a maiden.[3] Poetry, which is rich in sense and

1. SM, p. 16, Samaya III, Verses 4-6.
2. AKL, p. 360, Avadāna 59, Verses 111–113.
3. Ojorañjanameva varṇaracanāścitrā na kasya priyā
nānālaṅkṛtayaśca kasya na manaḥsaṁtoṣamātanvate
Kāvye kiṁ tu satāṁ camatkṛtikṛtaḥ sūktiprabandhāḥ sphuṭam
tīkṣṇāgrā jhaṭiti śrutiprāṇayinaḥ kāntākaṭākṣā iva.
(BKM, p. 1, Lambaka I, Taraṅga I, Verse 4).

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sentiment, striking in its descriptions and properly studded with figures of speech and proper case-endings and which is delightful and joyous is for Kṣemendra good poetry[1], and he has tried to keep up these qualities in his poetry to a greater extent.

(ii) *Figures of Speech* :

In the use of figures of speech Kṣemendra is highly discriminating. He seems to be fond of similes, metaphors, puns, 'Nidarśanā' (Illustration), 'Vyatireka' (Contrast or Dissimilitude) and alliteration. He had referred to the use of figures of speech in Kavikarṇikā as pointed out earlier. In this work we have lost a valuable piece of art which described about the poet's idea on the use of figures of speech. Most of the figures of speech which Kṣemendra uses are drawn from everyday life. His fondness for 'Vyatireka' is chiefly marked in most of his works. For example :

Kva pāṁśuśayyā vipine jaranmṛgagaṇāśraye
Kva nūpuravatī kāntā śiñjānamaṇinūpurā.
Kva vṛddhasaṁnidhivanaṁ saṁbhogārhaṁ kva yauvanam
Kva yuddhayātrā surathā kva ca paṅgumanorathāḥ.[2]

His puns are also striking :

Sa sadā dhṛtisampannāṁ sarvabhūtabhavakṣayam
Kṣamāmuvāha manasā mūrdhnā śeṣa iva kṣamām.[3]

1. Sālaṁkāratayā vibhaktiruciracchāyā viśeṣāśrayā
vakrā sādaracarvaṇā rasavatī mugdhārthalabdhā param
Āścaryocitava,ṇanānavanavasvādapramodārcitā
veśyā satkavibhāratīva harati prauḍhā kalāśālinī.
(SM, p. 57, Verse 1).
2. RM, p. 298, Yuddhakāṇḍa, Verses 102, 103.
Ibid, p. 4, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Verse 40.
Ibid, p. 49, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Verse 594.
Ibid, p. 69, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Verse 852.
3. Ibid, p. 53, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Verse 644.

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Dakṣiṇāmbhodhimahiṣīṁ svacchaphenadukūlinīm
Tāṁ haṁsamālinīṁ vīkṣya Narmadāṁ narmadāṁ rateḥ.[1]

In both of these verses the pun on the word 'Kṣamā' and 'Narmadā' is beautiful. The alliterations like :

Yoṅganāpāṅgasaṁyogādanaṅgopi jagajjayī.[2]
Aṅganāpāṅgavasatir yenāpāṅgobhavatsmaraḥ.[3]

proved so effective that they were imitated by a poet like Śrīharṣa.

(iii) *The Metres :*

In ST Kṣmendra has mentioned that various kinds of metres should be used only by a poet with propriety.[4] Following his own prescription Kṣemendra has also used a number of metres for his poetry. He has strictly followed the rules which he framed for the proper use of metres. He thought a great poet to be one with varied experiences and therefore needing varied and suitable metrical expressions. Following this idea he used different metres in his poems. The vast literature produced by Kṣemendra is written in Śloka and Anuṣtup metres. In using these metres he has followed the Epics. Śārdūlavikrīḍita also occupied an important place and a large number of verses have been written in this metre. Several other metres varying from the hexa-syllabic Tanumadhyā to twenty-one-syllable Sragdharā are also found in his writings.

(iv) *His Poetry of Nature :*

Kṣemendra cannot be accused of a limited approach to the human side of life only. Life for him was vast and a vitally inclusive reality. So, when he writes about life he is not merely concerned with the human nature. Nature with a

1. Ibid, p. 436, Uttarakāṇḍa, Verse 358.
2. Ibid, p. 11, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Verse 122.
3. BKM, p. 4, Lambaka I, Taraṅga I, Verse 44.
4. ST, p. 49, Vinyāsa III, Verse 7.

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capital 'N' had also an equally deep significance for him. Being a writer of direct and simple poetry one may think that Kṣemendra was unable to reach the great height of imagination. But it is not correct to think so. In KK he has prescribed, for a poet that he should observe the behaviour of the animate objects and survey the seas and mountains. He should notice the movements of the Sun, the Moon and the stars and should have a knowledge of all the seasons.[1] Talking about the knowledge of various things essential to a budding poet, Kṣemendra has further stated that such a poet should also have a knowledge of various other subjects. Under these subjects he has included, along with others, the familiarity with different countries, trees and wild life.[2] Thus, Kṣmendra thought that the things of nature were very essential for a poet. He has given a few examples to show his familiarity with the things of nature His beautiful description of the Spring season has already been mentioned. Another charming piece of his description of the Spring is as follows :

Athāyayau bhṛṅgagaṇopagītaḥ
sindūrapūrāyitakiṁśukaśrīḥ
Manasvinīmānavadhānubandhī
madhuḥ śaratsaurabhamattanāgaḥ.
Udyānavallīnavapallavānāṁ
viyoginītāpavipallavānām
Babhūvavṛddhiḥ sahasā sahaiva
pratyagrarāgodgamaduḥsahaiva.
Lasatsu puṣpeṣvapi teṣu teṣu
babhūva bhūmnā madhubāndhavasya
Bhṛṅgasvanairgītayaśaḥprakāraḥ
kṛtopakāraḥ sahakāra eva.[3]

1. Prekṣāprāṇisvabhāvānāṁ samudrādristhitīkṣaṇam.
Ravīndutārākalanaṁ sarvartuparibhāvanam.
(KK, p. 127, Sandhi II, Verses 10, 11).
2. KK, p. 138, Sandhi V.
3. AKL, p. 348, Avadāna 59, Verses 18, 19, 21.

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This description is in no way insignificant and shows that the poet could also write about nature in greater terms. Other descriptions about nature have found place in SM (about Spring)[1], DAC (about Autumn)[2] and at various places in RM (of the Ganges), of the Rainy Season and the Rising Moon)[3], AKL (of the Spring and Ocean)[4], BKM (of Spring)[5] and BhM (of Spring).[6]

Another aspect of the poetry of Kṣemendra is that, in the presentation of the tender ideas, his aesthetic sense succeeds in giving the most exquisite picture. An example may be taken. In AKL, while giving a beautiful description of a 'Nāyikā' he says that her youth has swallowed her girlhood and she is now the decoration of Cupid, her slim body is befriended with the curves of all her limbs and thus without any preparation to conquer the Cupid she is conquering him :

Tāruṇyena nipītaśaiśavatayā sānaṅgaśṛṅgāriṇī
tanvaṅgyāḥ sakalāṅgasaṅgamasakhībhaṅgirnavāṅgīkṛtā
Niḥsaṁrambhaparākramaḥ pṛthutarārambhābhiyogaṁ vinā
sāmrājye jagatāṁ yayā vijayate devo vilāsāyudhaḥ.[7]

The description brings the 'Nāyikā' to life before our eyes. Another picture of a 'Nāyikā' is given whose actions of the body are exhibiting the various performances taught in the Nāṭyaśāstra.[8]

1. SM, pp. 42-43, Samaya VII, Verses 1–7.
2. DAC, pp. 30-31, Avatāra V, Verses 82-89.
3. RM, pp. 22-23, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Verses 266-268.
   Ibid, pp. 188-189, Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, Verses 1-25.
   Ibid, p. 248, Sundarakāṇḍa, Verses 179-181.
4. AKL, pp. 97-98, Avadāna 11, Verses 14-19.
   Ibid, p. 503, Avadāna 89, Verse 7.
5. BKM, pp. 599-600, Lambāka XVIII, Verses 5-12.
6. BhM, pp. 46-47, Ādiparva, Verses 569-573.
7. AKL, p. 394, Avadāna 64, Verse 117.
8. Vāṇī pāṭhyaparigrahe parilasadvīṇāsvanāmodinī
   sattvavyaktivibhaktikampataralā tālonmukhī mekhalā

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Kṣemendra's description of nature is at times tainted with the flaw that he describes it aa he sees it without any flight of imagination. A poet can be called skilful only when he gives a more contemplative and deep description of nature. He has to rise from the common level and put more imagination in its description. He has to be very selective in choosing out the striking things and then presenting them dexterously. Kṣemendra seems to be interested in the simple and matter-of-fact description of nature without adding much from his own imagination. In KK, when he gives his own example to show the familiarity with trees, he merely enumerates them instead of giving an imaginative picture of it.[1] The examples about the familiarity with the countries and wild life are also without any striking feature in them.[2]

(v) *Satirical and Humorous Aspect of his Style :*

Kṣemendra, being a writer on the social problems, thought it necessary to use wit and humour as well as satires to give a more powerful effect to his ethical and moral teachings. His satires are well thought out and bring in the desired effect. A great variety of these can see in DU, NM, RV, DD and SM. He directs these against the vicious characters of the day which included the prostitutes, the Kāyasthas, the bawds, the quacks, female mendicants and singers. He takes the help of parody in making his satires more effective. About a rogue he says that he is equal to his friend and foe and also unconcerned

Āhāryaṁ racayatyahāryaruciraṁ saundaryarekhāsakhī
tanvyā lāsyavilāsaśiṣyakalanāṁ bhrūyugmamāsevate.
(AKL, p. 426, Avadāna 66, Verse 87).

1. Jambubimbakadambanimbabakulaplakṣākṣabhallātaka-
drākṣākiṁśukakarṇikārakadalījambīrakodumbaraiḥ
Sā saṁtānakabilvatilvatilakaśleṣmātakāragvadh-
nyagrodhārjunaśātanāśanavanaśyāmāndadarśāśrāmān.
(KK, p. 138, Sandhi V, Vṛkṣaparicayaḥ).

2. KK, p. 138, Sandhi V, Deśaparicayaḥ and Vaneceraparicayaḥ.

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about honour and insult and by cherishing one to lose his job he is trained in the procurement of 'Nirvāṇa' :

> Samaḥ śatrau ca mitre ca tathā mānāpamānayoḥ
> Vṛtticchedakṛtābhyāsaḥ khalo nirvāṇadīkṣitaḥ.[1]

The caricatures of the Kāyasthas, the Goldsmiths, the Astrologers and poetic fools are really most pungent. The term 'Divira' which he has specially coined for the Kāyasthas is itself full of ridicule. About an astrologer, who is completely ignorant of his subject, is said : Salutation to the astrologer who has the eyes of knowledge and who asks the boatman about the fall of rain.[2] Kṣemendra has adopted a humorous style in exposing some of the immoral practices of his time. Sometimes he brings out a humorous story to justify his slur on a particular character. The story about the birth of the goldsmiths in KV is humorously put by him.[3] Similar other examples of his humour can be found in the whole of KV and DD. The wit, humour and satire of Kṣemendra is not destructive. It may be called corrective and this is the secret of his success as a poet. The ethical and moral teachings through a witty and humorous style is peculiarly Kṣemendra's own and no other poet has been able to replace him in Sanskrit literature.

(b) *Kṣemendra As a Critic* :

Kṣemendra showed his ingenuity not only in didactic and satrical works but also in the principles of literary criticism by writing AVC, KK and ST. Another of his valuable works was Kavikarṇikā—a work on the use of the figures of speech in

1. DU, p. 1, Upadeśa I, Verse 6.
2. Jyotiḥśāstravide tasmai namostu jñānacakṣuṣe
   Varṣaṁ pṛcchatyavarṣaṁ vā dhīvarānyo vinaṣṭadhīḥ.
   (NM, p. 21, Parihāsa II, Verse 82).
3. KV, p. 69, Canto VIII, Verses 20-28.

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literature which unfortunately is lost. AVC is a landmark in the history of literary criticism in Sanskrit which established a valuable theory of propriety. The lines on which Kṣemendra developed this theory have already been discussed. Establishing this theory as the soul of poetry, Kṣemendra had to prove that propriety was the only thing which could be taken as the very soul of poetry. For this he had to study the relavant literature available in this regard and some other theories advanced by different writers about the soul of poetry. It would have been impossible for Kṣemendra to establish a theory if he were unable to criticise other theories already existent before him. By undertaking this great task Kṣemendra brought out a solution for the previous conflicting theories on the subject. He took all the ingredients of the different theories and then established that the real thing which every other theory lacked was nothing but propriety. The twenty-eight places where propriety should be maintained in poetry, as shown by him, in a way, criticised the other theories for their lack, in the first and the last ingredient of poetry, though Kṣemendra does not take any particular theory to advance his critical remarks against it. He only takes up some of the verses written by his preceding or contemporary writers and finds out the defects of impropriety to charm the reader. He has also given a critical appreciation of the poetry written by different writers. He also tests his own poetry on the touchstone of propriety. His critical insight and sound judgment in selecting the best suited example is remarkable. About the propriety in Rasa he says that the sentiment fascinating on account of its propriety and pervading the entire sense makes the mind grow as does the Spring to the Aśoka tree. He praises Kālidāsa for maintaining propriety of Śṛṅgārarasa in the following verse :

Bālenduvakrāṇyavikāsabhāvādbabhuḥ palāśānyatilohitāni
Sadyo vasantena samāgatānāṁ nakhakṣatāniva vanasthalīnām.[1]

1. AVC, pp. 124-125.

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Narrating the erotic longings of Śiva and Pārvatī, ascribing the function of a lover to the Spring—the primary excitant, the poet has fancied the red and crooked Palāśa buds to be the nail marks on the damsel-like woodland regions at the time of their first union with the Spring and thus has given rise to the true beauty of propriety. Kṣemendra's criticism is very apt. He finds out the blemish of impropriety even in the poetry of Kālidāsa and says that the poet in the verse :

Varṇaprakarṣe sati Karṇikāraṁ
dunoti nirgandhatayā sma cetaḥ
prāyeṇa sāmagrayavidhau guṇānāṁ
parāṅmukhī Viśvasṛjaḥ pravṛttiḥ.[1]

by simply describing the colour of the Karṇikāra flower and by censuring the Creator, that being in no way beneficial to the prevailing sentiment of love, has not said anything which serves as a fitting excitant. The criticism is well justified. By such criticism in regard to other places of propriety he has done a great service to literature. In fact such a valuation of poetry was never done before. All other Sanskrit poets limited their evalution of poetry upto the Guṇas and Doṣas. Kṣemendra studied poetry from all angles and established his theory on a firmer ground.

Kṣemendra's further critical approach to literature is observed in KK. It is very essential for a poet to bring charm in his poetry. For this Kṣemendra says that even though a composition contains beautiful and flawless syllables it may not appeal to anybody's heart for want of charm like the burnished gold without a priceless gem to illuminate and like the youth of a woman devoid of grace.[2] The ten-fold 'camatkāra' or

1. AVC, p. 125.
2. Ekena kenacidanarghamaṇiprabheṇa
kāvyaṁ camatkṛtipadena vinā suvarṇam
Nirdoṣaleśamapi rohati kasya citte
lāvaṇyahīnamiva yauvanamaṅganānām.
(KK, p. 128, Sandhi III, Verse 2).

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charm[1] which he expects in the work of a poet shows that Kṣemendra considered poetry as not the combination of some words in metric form but as something which elicited sweetness and charm. He has given his own examples to show how this ten type of charm can be imbibed in poetry. He is very fastidious in selecting the examples. The following example which has been taken from his Padyakādambarī to show 'the charm which has been thought out' is sufficient to distinguish his position as an ingenious critic :

Aṅgenāṅgajvarahutavahaścakṣuṣi dhyānamudrā
kaṇṭhe jīvaḥ karakisalaye dīrghaśāyī kapolaḥ
Aṁse vīṇā kucaparisare candanaṁ vāci maunaṁ
tasyāḥ sarvaṁ sthitamiti na tu tvāṁ vinā kvāpi cetaḥ.[2]

Here the charm lies in selecting the proper expressions for the love-lorn Kādambarī whose limbs are stable like an ascetic but not her mind. The critical insight of the poet is further marked in KK when he distlnguishes between merits and demerits of poetry. He criticises Śivasvāmin, Candraka and Mayūrabhaṭṭa for the lapses in their poetry. Quoting a verse of Candraka he shows how his poem is tainted with meritlessness :

Stanau supīnau kaṭhinau ṭhinau ṭhinau
kaṭirviśālā rabhasā bhasā bhasā
Mukhaṁ ca candrapratimaṁ timaṁ timaṁ
aho surūpā taruṇī ruṇī ruṇī.[3]

There is absolutely no charm in the meaning of the verse and meaningless words like 'ṭhinau ṭhinau', 'bhasā bhasā', 'timaṁ timaṁ' and 'ruṇī ruṇī' do not make the verse to be

1. Tatra daśavidhaścamatkāraḥ-avicāritaramaṇīyaḥ vicāryamāṇaramaṇīyaḥ samastasūktavyāpī sūktaikadeśadṛśyaḥ śabdagataḥ arthagataḥ śabdārthagataḥ alaṅkāragataḥ rasagataḥ prakhyātavṛttigataśca,
(KK, p. 129, Sandhi III).

2. KK, p. 129, Sandhi III.
3. KK, p. 133, Sandhi IV.

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called a poem at all. Speaking about the aesthetics of the cultivation of the poetic art, Kṣemendra has further mentioned a few essentials with which a poet should be familiar and show his dexterity in poetic art. The examples chosen are from different poets and are the best proof of judging the creative and critical qualities of Kṣemendra.

The critical appreciation of different metres in poetry used by various poets which Kṣemendra has given in ST is equally important to establish him as a critic. He discusses the blemishes and excellences of different metres used by the Sanskrit poets and tells us the reason why a particular poet had the fancy for a particular metre. Proper discrimination is very necessary for the selection of metres for the description of different things. All the important metres have been discussed in this connection by Kṣemendra with an appreciation of the abilities of different poets.

Thus, we find Kṣemendra as a talented poet who not only had a remarkable insight and ability in the art of poetry but also a thorough access into and a critical mastery of a vast expanse of Sanskrit literatnre and thus combined in wonderful proportion the truly creative and critical faculties of mind.

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7

Ksemendra as a Synthetic Personality

The vast literature produced by Kṣemendra presents before us a dynamic personality with multifarious learning and feeling for life. We find in him a producer of enormous literature varying in subjects like poetical epitomes, didactic works, poetics and Mahākāvyas. In the creation of such a voluminous literature his poetry is the unifying factor which brings in the co-ordination between the different expressions of of Kṣemendra's personality. In the earlier works, especially the poetical epitomes, we find him bringing in the unification between the two ages, the age of the Epics and his own time. In fact he has tried to keep the two together by combining the ethical and moral messages of the Epics with those of his times. The moral and ethical content of the Epics have always had an ever awakening influence on the minds of the Indian people. They always remained and still are the fountain heads of the highest knowledge and truth of life. Kṣemendra sought to draw the people again towards this ideal of the Epics and joined up the moral and ethical principles which he wanted the people to follow in his time with those of the Epics. Many subjects about which Kṣemendra talks in BhM and RM clearly show a deep concern about the state of affairs of his time. For example, the description of the Kali age given in BhM[1] is

1. Kalau luptakriyācārāḥ śūdrāṇāṁ dāsatāṁ gatāḥ
Sarvabhakṣyā bhaviṣyanti Brāhmaṇā Brahmavarjitāḥ.

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definitely of his own society into which several vulnerable characters had crept in. The Epics do not mention the Kāyasthas but Kṣemendra has dealt with them in his poetical epitomes. Various points pertaining to the social conditions as such which existed in Kṣemendra's time have already been mentioned. The chief underlying factor is the poetry of Kṣemendra which brings the unification between the two ages and strives to, blend them together to attain the desired end of service to mankind. The epitomes written in rich poetry must have been extremely delectable to the contemporary society. Moreover, his poetry placed Śaivism, Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism on equal footing even though Kṣemendra was under the solitary influence of Śaivism in his early literary career.

Coming to his didactic works we notice that Kṣemendra wishes to unite the society by writing pure didactic works containing the direct moral teaching to all sorts of people. SU, CC and CS are such works which provide moral teaching of a universal nature. Kṣemendra believed that if every one understood every one's responsibility towards himself and others it

Draṣṭāro dharmasandehe Śūdrā grāmapurādhipāḥ
Gurvaśca bhaviṣyayti mantratantropajīvinaḥ.
Viprāḥ pānārthino yeṣāṁ vaśīkaraṇasādarāḥ
Pākhaṇḍibhyo grahīṣyanti dīkṣāṁ mugdāśca jantavaḥ.
Rājamārgāvalokinyo nāryastyaktagṛhakriyāḥ
Patyauvidveṣameṣyanti viṭānālokya sotsukāḥ.
Veśyāścaṇḍālagāminyo bhogamokṣe gatatrapāḥ
Puṁsāṁ sarvaṁ hariṣyanti gurubhirdraviṇārthinaḥ.
Labdhasargāstathā Vṛddhā bālāḥ suratalampaṭāḥ
Jaṭābhṛtaścaṭīsaktāḥ śramaṇāśca kalatriṇaḥ.
Kāyasthāḥ kṣmāṁ kariṣyanti suṣirāṁ mūṣikā iva
Kūṭavikrayiṇo vyājatulyāmānavidhāyinaḥ.
Sahasāvṛddhimāpsyanti vaṇijo dinataskarāḥ
Vyādhisaṁdhāraṇopāyajīvikā hi cikitsakāḥ.
(BhM, pp. 254-255, Āraṇyaparva, Verses 1320, 1326, 1328, 1329, 1330, 1332, 1335, 1336).

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would result into a harmonious society. The earliest method for this was to regulate one's daily life which had several more duties to be performed. Kṣemendra put all these in only hundred verses and mentioned only those which were most practicable in CC. The fair distribution of attachment towards the four goals of human life—Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa, was another important factor which was to bring integration in the individual's life and thus in the society as well. A moral relating to these is given by Kṣemendra in CS with the intention that the people could follow the idea underlying it. Another essential point in bringing about the unity amongst the people is to end servility and thus to foster equality. This could happen only when the two class systems relating to masters and servants in the society were brought to an end. In SU Kṣemendra endeavoured in this direction. How far Kṣemendra achieved success in bringing about order and unity in the society is another matter. The direct moral teachings have their own place and importance in changing the outlook of the people. In every age such teachings have influenced human life and society. The survival of different religions and spiritual knowledge in the life of Indians is owing to such moral teachings.

Another way which Kṣemendra adopts to effect social reform is the use of irony, wit, humour and a good deal of satire. DU, NM, KV, DD and SM which show a considerable amount of satire as mentioned before were written to ridicule the filthy elements of the society and divert people from the corrupt path to a healthy and moral one. Kṣemendra wished to bring forth a social revolution by his satires which are directed against the miscreants. As he thought that this social unity could not be achieved without the help of the common man who was allergic to direct moral teachings, he adopted the more suitable form, i.e., satire. The study of human life, man's ways and behaviour interested him very much and he presented them with great zeal and enthusiasm. In the satires

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he was highly impartial and did not show any special regard to the rich or disregard to the poor. He was firm about the task he had undertaken and therefore did not indulge in satire for the sake of satire or ridicule but for serious end of moral reform. Therefore, his satires are creative and constructive, setting examples before the people taken from amongst their own life and not of superhuman beings or extremely idealistic characters found in the mythology. He goes deep into the everyday affairs of man and tries to bring in the social reform by meaningful satires. The two main aspects of Kṣemendra's personality are—Kṣemendra as a moral teacher and Kṣemendra as a social thinker. But, beneath and above these is the unifying power of poetry which synthesizes every thing into a cohesive order and unity.

When we consider Kṣemendra as a moral teacher and a social thinker, studying the nature and significance of life and commenting on its lapses, we are reminded of similar writers of the West in the medieval times who were thinking about the lapses of the society in general and the lapses of the church, scoundrels, women and priests in particular. Both Langland and Chaucer have written about these lapses of society. In medieval times the writers of both East and West were busy in studying the degradation of the society and finding out the solution for it.

Another striking aspect of Kṣemendra's personality is that he does not engage in outright criticism of any religion or cult. We do not find any conflicting ideas in him regarding cults. When he is a Śaivite he is not opposed to Vaiṣṇavism and when a Vaiṣṇavite he is not opposed to Buddhism. The epitomes of the Epics, AKL and DAC support this assertion. The influence of Śaivism is obvious in the epitomes of the Epics though they deal with Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, the two incarnations of Viṣṇu. He endeavoured to write about the birth stories of Lord Buddha found in the 'Jātakas' even when he

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was a Vaiṣṇavite. Still greater synthesis he brought between these two religions by accepting Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu and sung in his praise for the first time in Sanskrit literature. This endeavour was more important in his own time when Buddhism was superseding Brāhmanism and there must have been quarrels between the monks and Brāhmaṇas over popularising their different faiths. Kṣemendra sought to reconcile them by bringing in a synthesis between these two cults.

Kṣemendra's synthetic personality can also be judged in his works on poetics which present him before us a critic in the true sense. In AVC, KK and ST his synthetic approach to the art of criticism in Sanskrit literature can be clearly adjudged. The different theories about the soul of poetry are unified in his theory of propriety which advocated 'Rasa' as the basis of poetry and 'Aucitya' or Propriety as its soul. No other theory proved so comprehensive in nature. The elaborate discussions on merits and demerits of poetry were also rendered superfluous by the theory of propriety which could determine about merit (Guṇa) and demerit (Doṣa). The deciding factor in matter of merit and demerit in poetry is 'Propriety' which has been acknowledged as such by Mammaṭa, Bhoja and Viśvanātha. Bhoja in Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa said that even a demerit may become a merit on the basis of its proper use. The theory of propriety rejected the division of merits and demerits by synthesizing both and thereby suggesting that anything which is proper is excellence and improper a demerit. It was for the first time that such a synthesis was made in Sanskrit poetics.

The moralist in Kṣemendra is so deep rooted that in every sphere of life he brings forth an ideal to be followed by others. His view of observing the things is so much influenced by his moralistic ideas that even in the criticism of literature we find him keeping to the side of morals. This is evidenced in

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AVC where he establishes the value of propriety in literature. He evalutes literature by his measure of propriety, the back-bone of all morals. He reaches the limit of objectivity brought by his moralistic attitude when he tests his own poetry on the touch-stone of propriety and finds faults in it. Rarely has the critic shown the courage to criticise the poet in him. A critic is supposed to have an objective attitude towards the work of art that is there before him and is all the more supposed not to have any bias towards what is written by himself. In this sense Kṣemendra was an ideal critic. Achieving a perfect objectivity he scanned with the real critical eye and judged everything by propriety. This objectivity, this scientific attitude of looking at a thing, this ablility to judge a thing for its intrinsic worth has enabled Kṣemendra to synthesize opposing tendencies in literature and religions.

It is interesting to note that while in his time the three -isms were greatly opposed to each other and the society was strongly divided over the issues, Kṣemendra could almost simultaneously believe in all the three. I have already pointed out how AKL, which is primarily about the birth of Buddha, is influenced with Vaiṣṇavism and his BhM and DAC, which are written uuder the Vaiṣṇava influence, show simultaneously the Śaiva influence. We would not be too wide the mark in conjecturing that the primary or the most dominant interest of Kṣemendra was in the morality or the code of human conduct prescribed by every religion rather than in the religious part of it. And since all the three more or less believed in and preached the same virtues and set down almost identical codes of conduct Kṣemendra hardly noticed the difference in the three cults. No where do we find him discussing purely religious issues. Nor does he seem to be interested in the religion of any character. On the other hand he seems to be immensely interested in the ethical behaviour of every person.

The poetic culture and poetic charm which formed the subject matter of KK point to another effort which Kṣemendra

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made to synthesize the poetic values. The essentials of environment of a Sanskrit poet were stressed by him looking to their usefulness in making the poet's personality dynamic. The poetic 'charm' which he divided in ten classes was intended to set certain standards before a poet by which he could make poetry comprehensive in nature.

Kṣemendra tried to bring in a further synthesis in literature by ST where he adjudged the principle metres used by different writers and advocated the idea that a poet should use various metres. This was meant to bring unification in poetry without any bias towards a particular metre.

A critical study of Kṣemendra's works shows that they were written by a poet who had tried to imbibe in him the qualities of great poets like Vyāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and Bhavabhūti. The greatness of a poet lies in following the values accepted by his preceding greater poets and then develop his own personality. Kṣemendra, like any other great poet, followed the foot steps of these great poets. The simple yet expressive style of Vyāsa and Kālidāsa is found in his works. While explaining 'Nīti' he follows Bhāravi and describing the gorgeous and awe-inspiring aspects of nature and in the presentation of the two aspects of the erotic sentiment, viz., Saṁyoga and Viyoga, he follows Bhavabhūti. The whole of his poetry written mostly in Anuṣṭup metre gathered inspiration from Vyāsa. The shadow of Kālidāsa can be seen, for example, in :

Nirmado yaḥ prabhāvepi vibhavepi priyaṁvadaḥ
kṣamāśīlaḥ prabhutvepi yauvanepi jitendriyaḥ
Paulomīva Jayantena jananī pūjyajanmanā.
babhau tena kumāreṇa kumāreṇeva Pārvatī.[1]

Bhāravi's influence can be seen, for example, in the following verse :

1. AKL, pp. 22, 24, Avadāna 3, Verses 9, 31.

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Vibhinnasvīkāraḥ śamayati nṛpāṇāṁ ripubhayaṁ
nijairjīvocchittir bhavati kupitair dhātubhiriva
Na vairaṁ vaireṇa praśamamupayāti kvacidapi
pradīptogniḥ śāntiṁ vrajatī jalapuñjair na śikhinā.[1]

The description of Vindhya breezes given by Kṣemendra is in no way inferior to that given by Bhavabhūti :

Ete nirmalanarmadāparisarevyājṛmbhivallīvala-
tpuṣpoddāmamadhūtsavapraṇayinaḥ kṣībā ivāghūrṇitāḥ
Saṁnaddhāḥ śabarīnitambavilasānmāyūrapatrāvalī
līlāndolananarmavibhramakalābandheṣu Vindhyānilāḥ [2]

The description indeed is magnificent thrilling and possessed of great romantic charm like that of Bhavabhūti found in the second and third act of Uttararāmacarita. With all these qualities the poetry of Kṣemendra excels as supreme, and Kṣemendra the poet towers above all other aspects of his personality.

In fact when we find Kṣemendra in different roles, e.g., Kṣemendra as a social thinker, as a moral teacher or as a poetician, there remains no doubt that Kṣemendra the poet is the central and synthesizing factor. Curiously, the whole personality is great and beautifully interwoven in his poetry. When he is writing about any particular cult or religion, naturally, he is not opposed to some other cult or religion. When he is a moral teacher, he does not cease to be a social thinker because of the fact that his poetry joins all the different aspects of his personality in a remarkably beautiful synthesis. Literature, like all other arts, is concerned with giving a synthetic view of life and Kṣemendra, who dedicated himself to art not for the sake of art but for the serious end of life, had the right type of personality, belief and devotion all of which have earned him a permanent place among the classics of Sanskrit literature.

1. DAC, p. 86, Avatāra VIII, Verse 120
2. AKL, p. 393, Avadāna 64, Verse 109.

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8

The Mahāyāna Buddhist Ideals of Kṣemendra

Kṣemendra being one of the most illustrious writers on Buddhism, more particularly on Mahāyana Buddhism, made an indelible mark in the field of Buddhist literature by producing Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā. By the production of 108 avadānas of this prolific work the Mahāyāna conception of the Bodhisattva is highlighted by him in a true Buddhist way. A Bodhisattva is a future Buddha and all living beings are the future Buddhas. There are special vows which are to be taken by those who are the aspirants of Buddhahood. These vows work for them like a ladder for gradual ascendency to Bodhisattvaship. The Buddhist life of disattachment is thus led by them which in itself provides a great impetus to their benign endeavour. The great vows which reign supreme in the mind of a Bodhisattva and as Kṣemendra presents them, are to save all beings, to destroy all passions which evince evil, to learn the Truth and teach it to others, and to lead all beings toward Buddhahood. Working his way assiduously in the fulfilment of these vows, the aspirant of the Bodhisattvahood treads on the path of Pāramitās.

Kṣemendra stresses the Mahāyāna viewpoint that Śākyamuni was himself a Bodhisattva and tells us with poignant refrain assimilated from the Jātakas and other Avadānas that in his previous lives as animal and man, he practised compassion and strived for the welfare of other human beings, birds and animals, nay all living things.

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It would not be out of place here to pinpoint that the Arhat of the Hīnayāna follower became too much engrossed in his own upliftment and attainment of Bodhi. But for the Bodhisattva ideal holder, it became a constant and incessant effort to share his bliss of enlightenment with all living things and to remove such barriers that were supposed to lie between Buddhahood and common humanity. The Arhat of the orthodox tradition was all the time obsessed by the intent upon his own enlightement and liberation, while the Bodhisattva all intently wished to help all creatures to obtain full enlightenment. The Bodhisattva thus becomes qualified for Nirvāṇa by his own merit, but shows disattachment to it in order to remain in the world to help all creatures.

Kṣemendra seems to agree with Śāntideva, the illustrious writer of the Bodhicaryāvatāra, when he puts forth the vows of the Bodhisattva as follows :

1. "The sin accumulated in my former existences, tied with all creatures is infinite and is of a lingering nature. By no other power but Bodhi can it be effaced coupled with the desire to become Buddha for the salvation of men. This desire is in itself very sacred and wipes off a multitude of sins. It augurs all happiness in all existences. It is a pledge of the supreme happiness of the Buddha for oneself and for one's neighbour. All honour to the Budhas whom everybody naturally loves and who have as their singular aim the salvation of men.

2. I worship the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas. Possessing nothing, by dint of my sins, how can I render into them the worship which is their due? But I am wrong. I do possess something. I give myself unreservedly by pure affection to the Buddhas and to their sons, the divine Bodhisattvas. I am their slave and, as such, have no further danger to fear. Of all dangers the greatest is that which comes from my sins. I know how harmful these are; I deplore tnem; I acknowledge them I see and you behold them as they are; pardon these sins !

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3. But enough of myself. Let me belong entirely to the Buddhas and to creatures. I rejoice in the good actions. which among ordinary men for a time prevent evil rebirths. I rejoice in the deliverance gained by the Arhats. I delight in the state of Buddha and Bodhisattva. I entreat the Buddhas to preach the Law for the salvation of the world. I entreat them to delay their entrance into Nirvāna, All the merits acquired by my worship of the Buddhas, my taking refuge, my confession of sins. I apply to the good of creatures and to the attainment of Bodhi. I wish to be bread fort hose who are hungry, drinking for those who are thirsty. I give myself, all that I am and shall be in my future existences, to all creatures. In the same dispositions as those in which the former Buddhas were when they undertook the vow of Bodhi, and just as they carried out the obligations of future Buddhas, practising in their order the perfect virtues in these dispositions. I conceive the desire for Bodhi for the salvation of the world. So also shall I practise in their order my obligations or vows".

Kṣemendra like a true Mahāyāna Buddhist is conscious that very few will be able to go in this world of relativity, and therefore, considers of high importance the ten stages of the Bodhisattva by the practice of which he perfects himself cultivating his goals of compassion and friendliness. The Avadānas of Kṣemendra depict the Bodhisattva perfecting himself in the stage of joy (Pramuditā). He feels an incessant joy by his birth in the family of Buddha by the fruit of his actions and meditation. With this in mind he affords all affections for the Buddhas. His joy is genuine due the fact that he is now devoting himself to the duty of a Bodhisattva. His joy is further augmented by his feeling that he is devoting himself to the work of a Bodhisattva. A feeling of good-will to all creatures reigns supreme in him. He is now literally devoted to the Buddhas, helping all beings and practising the Law. Never in his thoughts he muses : "May I become a Buddha and attain Nirvāna". On the contrary, he wishes :

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"May I become a Buddha in order to help every being who may have recourse to me." Among Amita's vows, particularly eighteenth, reigns supreme in his thoughts, actions and wishes : "O Bhagāvat, if those beings who have directed their thought towards the highest perfect knowledge in other worlds and who having heard my name, when I have obtained Bodhi (knowledge), have meditated on me with serene thoughts; if at the moment of their death, having approached them, surrounded by an assembly of Bhikṣus, I should not stand before them, worshipped by them, that is, so that their thoughts should not be troubled, then may I not attain the highest perfect knowledge."

Kṣemendra is of the view that we can cultivate this aspect of joy; we can make it as an invitation of the Bodhisattva even though our practice may fall short of perfection. The religious observances of a true Buddhist should be joyful. The sole thought of belonging to the family of the Buddha should inculcate in him the greatest happiness. The Mahāyāna sūtras compare this action of the Bodhisattva with perfuming our lives with all their thoughts and actions. This sense of belonging to the family of the Buddha, would make the Buddhist aspirant conquer sin and fear and would make him work for the good of others. This joy would make others notice it and they will also themselves strive to obtain it for themselves. The progress is psychological and carries far reaching results.

The second stage of the Bodhisattva is that of the I immaculate (Vimala) which can be obtained by the practice of morality. Kṣemendra's view regarding this stage is that the practice of morality should be a fibre neatly woven in the minds of the people. Ego would be dissipated by the sword of morality which is in itself a moot *raison d'ɛtre* for the society. The real Bodhisattva is he who lives according to the precepts. He becons others to practise morality by setting an

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example by his own benign actions. Eight-fold Noble path is his way for the practice of morality.

The third stage is called the Illuminating (Prabhākarī). In this stage the Bodhisattva reflects upon the nature of things and practises patience and forbearance towards the beings and things as they are disposed in this world. It is a virtue so underlined in the Mahāyāna way of life. Kṣemendra stresses on this virtue all the more because its practice allows us to adjust with frailities, Vanities and oddities of others. Imitation of the Buddha in this respect would put a person to a great advantage to himself as well as others.

In the fourth stage called the Radiant (Archiṣmatī), cultivation of the greatest energy becomes the aim of the Bodhisattva. Good works and strenuous medi ation are practised by him for maximum advantage.

Meditation is further practised in the fifth stage called (Sudurjayā). Knowledge is neatly linked with meditation. Meditation leads to the knowledge of Truth.

Truth leads to transcendental knowledge (Prajñā) which is assimilated in the sixth stage called Abhimukti or Turned Towards. By the perfection obtained in this stage the potential Bodhisattva becomes an Arhat as well as a Bodhisattva. Fathoming all depths of Knowledge, his mind now becomes all open and clear. He is now lighted by the light of the transcendental knowledge. The Bodhisattva reaching to this stage becomes a very remarkable person indeed. He and his ways cannot be fathomed by our ordinary, relative minds. In order to evaluate his high position, we must also stand where he is so chosenly found. The Hīnayāna sect of Buddhism contented itself with these stages only. But the Mahāyāna Buddhism went ahead with further perfection stages of the Bodhisattva.

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The seventh stage called Far Going (Dūraṅgamā), the Bodhisattva is skilled in all means of leading others to Bodhi. The culmination of the first six stages takes place in this stage giving impetus to the full development of immaculate intelligence of the Bodhisattva. Reaching this stage, he rises above worldly thoughts yet remains conscious of his duty towards his fellow-beings of the world whom he finds trapped in the mundane turbulances. Here he finds a good deal of compassion motivated by which he assists other beings to wade through the miseries of their existenee. He puts at stake all his accumulated merit for their redemption. The idea of magical body—a true Mahāyāna concept, assumes here a pragmatic pleonasm. Assuming different forms by the Buddha, sometimes a man, sometimes a woman, or any form high or low, is thus explained to carry out his compassion and benevolence befitting in all circumstances. His compassion reaches to the lowly and the high alike, nay even to the birds, animals and plants, animate and inanimate all alike. Kṣemendra has keenly mentioned that all life is one and that the Dharmakāya (manifestation of the Buddha in all forms) is the true nature of the Buddha. Thus link with the Buddha with all things in the world became an idealistic message to the world to preserve and conserve all things given by the nature including animals and plants. Kṣemendra has thus underlined the point that to preserve the ecological balance would be a service to humanity itself. All things in the world have a value, as they are all connected with the Dharma Kāya and are all his expressions.

In the eighth stage called Steadfast or Immovable, the state of a divine mind is achieved. In other words it is the stage of the possession of Anutpattikadharma Kṣānti or will in action. The idea of duality has now been transcended by him with his subconscious intelligence, he continues to shower benefactions on others. His conscious mind is quiet and absolutely serene.

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From the foregoing stages rises the Good (Sādhumatī) in which magnifies the role of the Preacher of the Law.

The tenth stage is called the cloud of the Law (Dharmameghā). In this last Samādhi, the Bodhisattva realises the consecration by the Buddhas. All powers and characteristics of a Buddha are now achieved by him who moves as a personification of love and sympathy. The highest principle has been obtained by him. The heart of the Dharmakāya enshrines him. He has reached his goal of life. Kṣemendra calls him the manifested Dharmakāya who helps all beings to become Bodhisattva and to reach to the Buddhahood.

Enshrined in the Avadānas of Kṣemendra are the six Pāramitas of the Mahayāna Pantheon—Charity, Morality, Patience, Energy, Meditation and Wisdom, which can be vividly seen practised and exemplified in Viśvantarāvadāna, Viśākhāvadāna, Maṇicūdāvadāna, Kṣāntyāvadāna, Hastyāvadāna and the like. The Bodhisattva's role in these being exemplary and worth emulation, the account found in these Avadānas is given heretofore with a critical appraisal :

Viśvantarāvadāna :

"The virtuous and high—spirited are always replendant with their charitable acts and always glisten forth with their matchless impress. Their placidity of mind and natural disposition to forbearance does not allow any conceit even when their wives and children are given away by them in charity. No ray of discomfiture is ever seen on their faces in the execution of such virtuous acts.

In the days of yore there was a city named Viśvā where the goddess of wealth lived in confidence and was the birthplace of the Bodhisattva who was ever busy in the good of all creatures. There was a king in this city named Sañjaya who worked as a sun in annihilating the darkness of his enemies, inspired pleasure to the eyes by his countenance and matchless

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disposition. He had a son modest in nature named Viśvantara who subdued the renown of even a wish-yielding tree by the his superexcellence of charitable disposition. By the progress of his virtues, he had uprooted envy from the minds of his subjects, by the truth of his speech he had honoured the goddess of wisdom, by charity he had honoured wealth and by knowledge he had honoured wisdom. He gave away in charity a divinely chariot which was the witness of many victories. By the gifting away of such a rare chariot all his country men were caught in astonishment and this act gave a reason for worry to his father, the king. He opened his mind to his ministers that the chariot was of a precious value with the help of which he had won many battles without ever witnessing a defeat, the wealth of the kingdom remained always static without even depleting. The ministers snubbed the king for not exercising any control over his own son who they complained was wayward. They further added that who should not be pleased by the observance of religious rules or by charity, but when a tree is cut from its roots itself shuns away the fruit seekers. They pointed out that the chariot was sold away in a foreign country by the Brahmin who received it as a gift. This act gave them further cause of worry and pierced them with pain.

Gradually there arrived the spring time rejoicer of hearts and like the fructifying of a good deed. The prince ascended on the elephant Rājavardhana and went to the forest in order to witness the spring foliage. A neighbouring vassal knowing the all time charitable disposition of the prince directed some Brahmins, his emissaries, to rob him of that excellent elephant. They came to his path uttering benedictions and said :

Both the excellent qualities of this elephant of thine, and thy heroic love of charity have earned eternal excellence by constantly keeping the hand wet with the water in order to act on charity and thy elephant having its trunk wet with the juice flowing in rutting-time.' O performer of meritorious dee..s ! O Generosity in person ! gift us this elephant, no other

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person than you would be able to present us with this white-elephant Being thus addressed by those Brahmins he gave away that elephant ornamented with conchshell, banner and chowrie a living royalty indeed, with all his courage. Having given, his mind was purified by the largesses of the the highest degree of practising the pāramitā of charity gifting away the worthy chariot and the most-coveted elephant, his heart was filled with the utmost joy. The king, when he heard that the famous elephant was also gifted away by the prince, he considered his royal wealth exposed without any parapet of protection.

The angry King afraid of loosing away his kingdom banished Viśvantara for the jungle. He took along with him his wife named Mādrī accompanied by his son Jālina and by his daughter Kṛṣṇā. In the forest also he gave away the remaining conveyance etc. to the gift-seekers, the mind of the great remains indifferent in opulence as well as in distress.

One day, when Mādri the mother had gone to seek roots and fruits, a Brahmin came forth and told the prince thus : I am a person without any attendants, give me both thy intelligent children, you are the person a Great Being and are well-known for the renown of heroic almsgiving without a reserve. Listening to this, he gave away both his darlings even without a second thought. After the gift he became afflicted and agitated by their separation, after all who does not covet his wealth, children and wife. For the compassionate ones no other conpassion exists except charity.

In the meanwhile, Mādrī returned endearing her love for the children and not seeing the children around fell on the ground and swooned away. Recovering her senses she was again enwrapt by the fire of sorrow and when she heard how her children were gifted away. In her mind the deep affection for children turned into an unbearable fire of sorrow which braised following her deep affection for her dearest children.

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The Lord of the Devas, Indra now came to the Bodhisattva feigning to be a Brahmin mendicant begged the prince for his beloved wife as a maid. The Bodhisattva controlled the further sorrow of separation from his wife, controlled his mind and made the promise of giving her to the Brahmin. He then spoke to her sprinkled by the water of the recent gifting away and apprehensive like a doe. Dearest ! do not grieve, for the company of dear ones is as false as love in a dream. May your mind rejoice in the merit of serving this Brahmin, as the merit is the only abiding friend for the wise in the ephemeral journey of the world. All relatives have been seen and brethren have been tested, the garland in the form of friends has also been worn withering in less than a moment, the life has also been wasted in the upkeep of wife and children, but no permanent acquaintance has been obtained in any one of these in the world other than the religious merit. Speaking thus to his dear wife discarding the greed of her possession, the Bodhisattda wore a resplendant countenance, and also the firmness of mind.

Looking at Mādrī stupefied by the grief of separation, Indra regaining his form spoke to her. O dear child ! do not grieve. The prince would give you away to the mendicants, and therefore, I asked you as a gift. I now pledge you to him so that he is not able to gift you away in charity as a thing in pledge cannot be given away. I would now bring forth the union of your children. Saying this the thousand-eyed Indra disappeared, all of a sudden.

The Brahmin who had taken away the children went to the town of Viśvāmitra and started selling them away there out of greed. Viśvāmitra recognizing them as the two children of the prince bought them back with a big sum with eyes filled with tears. In the course of time when the king Viśvāmitra died, Viśvantra was reinstated in his royal dignity requested by the public and ministers. Detached that he was,

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and charitable to the core that he remained, the wealth increased by his glory and no mendicant was to be found in his kingdom.

Affluent by the merit of the Bodhisattva that Brahmin who behaved like an ungrateful jackal always claimed that there was enough wealth due to his own power.

The Lord Buddha said that I am that Viśvantara and that (greedy) Brahmin is this Devadatta. Having said the story, the Lord gave a discourse to the Bhikṣus on charity.

Charity is a kin in the next world, in the fall of hundreds of lightenings it is the refuge, it acts as an abundant light in the wake of an abundant darkness, it acts as a solace in the wake af insupportable misery."

Viśvanatara's birth being the last but one of the Lord Buddha has always been held very high among Buddhists. As Viśvantara the Bodhisattva performed the highest degree of practising the Pāramits of charity. Kṣemendra has condensed the subject-matter of the tale to a considerable extent though the tale in the Pāli Jātaka is the longest and the last tale of the collection. The Jātakamālā of Āryaśūra which incorportates the tale of Viśvantara in the ninth Jātaka has also omitted some details like the name of the old Brahmin, that of the mother of Viśvantra, and also the etymology of his name. The gifting away of a prize chariot by Viśvantara is not mentioned by Āryasūra, while it finds its due place in the very beginning of the narrative of Kṣmendra. Resolve to banish Viśvantara is taken by Sañjaya, the king and the father himself, while Āryasūra dipicts him to take the decision of the banishment at the instance of the Śibis over whom he ruled. Kṣemendra omits the mention of earthquakes which is so vividly found in the Cariyāpitaka where the story is told in 58 ślokas. There is a poignant description of earthquakes here occurring seven times by the great liberality of the determination to make

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great largesses of all his prize possersions[1] done by the Bodhisattva.

Kṣemendra stresses on the exceedingly mavrellous behaviour of the Bodhisattva and wants to impress upon his readers that such distinguished beings must not be despised or hindered. Their progress of virtues gain the affection of Royal Felicity as in the case of Viśvantara, it followed him faithfully like an honest woman. Labour in any kind of penance, science or art was recognized by him and he bestowed distinguished honour to such a person. Mighty and illustrious that he was, he was clean from the conceit of all pride. Placidity of mind proper to old age and a natural disposition to forbearance were the qualities which were in him despite his young age. The extent of virtues was conspicuous in all regions as his fame penetrated the three worlds; the feeble trifling reputation of others had thus no room, and it seemed as if they did not venture to show themselves. He was pained by the prevalence of calamities and other causes of sufferings among mankind. Them alone he considered as his foes and waged war against them. He, in order to fight these enemies shot an incesssant volley of arrows which had the form of gifts of charity shooting always from his large bow of compassion. Mendicants who came to him were always greeted by him with the utmost gladness by his bounties surpassing the objects asked for. They were bestowed with deference and kind words. The alms-halls were established by him in all parts of the town. By incessant bestowal of gifts they were like refreshing wells for the mendicants. Making the round of these halls which he did as a duty bound person, no one returned without his desires unfulfilled. The beauty of his countenance enhanced when he sighted the alms-seekers. Without suspecting any deceit on the part of mendicants, he gave

1. Speyer, J. S,, The Jātakamāla, London, 1895, p. 93.

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away the expensive and prize possessions even when they asked for things of least utility to them like chariots and war-elephant which they could hardly use. He attributed their demands for these things to their covetousness, jealousy and hatred. Staking his reputation or even the precepts of righteousness, he gave away alms to even unneedy and fake mendicants who came to him to serve the cause of some other person, or at the instance of some schemy person, feeling earnestly that they must not be saddened by disappointment. He believed in the inherent qualities of all human beings fulfilling their demands at the first sight and askance unminding of the requirement of their need. By this attitude, he meant to attain equality vis-á-vis all beings—a principle so covetedly cherished in the Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Only a person of such charitable disposition like Viśvantara could ask respectfully and with gladness of mind, his alms-seekers as well as guests the reason of their coming and beseech then to express their want so that they may be replenished forth with. To the Bodhisattva proportionate passion for charity would be a compromise with covetousness, reservation of kine, gold, cloths and eatables for charitable purpose would be to indulge in political wisdom. He preferred devotion to his religious duties than to be a bearer of the troublesome burden of royalty. Tenderness of heart and compassion are the prize possessions of such a Bodhisattva. During an examination of his charitable disposition he heaves only deep, woeful sigh, but does not allow the affection in his heart for his dear ones to overcome firm resolve of charity reached upon so meticulously by him Decision taken by the parents is thus acceptable to him, though it may mean banishment from the place of cosy abode of the parents. Undaunted in the continuous practice of compasssion, his affection for the mendicants had firmly established. Likewise increased his grand, immense patience. Firmly established was his yet another

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resolve that for the benefit of the creatures he supported his body, how much more the possession of richly clothes and vehicles. Wanting to honour the requests of the mendicants, if need be, he would give away his own limbs. No amount of fear could desist him from charity. He had a firm conviction that those who block the path of charity do so by the foolish fickleness of mind.

Things given in charity lay in deposit, for the merit earned through it always comes to help in the hour of need. He who always gives in charity to people of good conduct embellishes his bounty by kind observance. Goods deposited in this manner are imperishable and follow the giver after death.

Virtue of charity is also eloquently recognized by the plants and trees who extend there branches laden with fruit to offer them to Viśvantara. In Āryasūra's narrative, the Yakṣas want to do their bit by offering to draw the chariot in which he travelled to the mount Vaṅka to seek a new abode after his banishment. They changed their shape and became red deer to pull his chariot when he had given away his horses in charity.[1] Strong penance in the grove of the Mount Vaṅka, disheartened even Indra who longed to test the earnestness of his charitable disposition and also to accord a helping hand so that the result of extraordinary charity of giving the children may not ultimately work as a punishment to Viśvantara, The children of Viśvantara are taken by the Brahmin who asked them in charity to the kingdom of Sañjaya where they are bought back after paying a huge price to the Brahmin. Viśvantara's wife is also received in charity by Indra disguised as a Brahmin and is kept again in the custody of the Bodhisattva so that he is not able to give her away any other time in his life. This twist to the narrative in the Avadānakalpalatā is given to prove that the merit gained by the matchless

1. The change in the Avadānakalpalatā can be seen.

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charity takes care of the giver severally. The power of it is so great that even Indra extends his hand of help to the Bodhisattva and restores his children and wife to him. His honour as Prince is also preserved and he is reinstated as a King in his own country from where he was banished.

Kṣemendra depicts the behaviour of the Bodhisattva as exceedingly marvellous and constant, facing the trial of severe tests of his charity.[1]

Kṣemendra's advice to his readers is that in the ephemeral existence of the world, it is only the merit or Dharma which is a permanent friend for the wise. Wife, sons are not permanent acqnaintences in the world, the meritorious deeds which accrue Dharma are the only abiding and permanent acquaintance in the world. The charity is the only kin which would follow in the next world after death.[2] All writings of Kṣemendra have praised the merit of charity in eloquent terms which elicits his firm conviction in this Buddhist principle which opened the vistas of righteousness and selfelevation to all mankind.

Vīśākhāvadāna :

"In the days of yore there was the king Aśoka in the Kaliṅga country whose valour had earned him fame by winning innumerable battles. He had four sons : Śākha, Praśākha, Anuśākha and Viśākha, renowned in the whole world. As they were intoxicated by the advent of youth and were turning wayward they were banished by the king along with their wives. Filial love also perishes when it breeds contempt. They reached a dense forest with empty tiffins, hungry and tired they thought to themselves. 'The wives are like ankle-fetters when they had nothing left to eat, but the leaves". Thinking thus, they decided to kill their wives ;

1. AKL., XXIII.29.
2. AKL., XXIII.54.

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those whose providence is scorched by misery, their mind also become fierce.

From among them, Viśākha who knew their sinful resolve ran away from them taking his wife. Her name was was Kalaṅkavatī who undewent a lot of misery. She fell uncnscious on the ground tired by covering and running for a long way. Her husband made her drink his own blood by cutting his vein as she was about to die. Her husband further restored her life by feeding her with his own meat. Gradually they bounded over the forest and reached to the bank of a river covered with shady trees, while resting they saw a man in the stream of the river whose hands and feet were cut, was wailing and was being tossed by the waters of the river. Seeing him in such a plight and in the grip of painful state, Viśākha entered into the river and brought him cut on his hands. They by offering water, roots and fruit he made his life come back to him and his wounds healed in a few days and his pain subsided. Though come back to health, he was not able to go anywhere due to impairment of movement, he remained there being fed by the wife of Viśākha in porper time. The prince was now hardly making any love to his wife, desirous of victory. To this stump of a man whose body had now become health by divine medicines, juice and food, this wife invited him to make love wife her. The women who seek the pleasure of body by their own desire do not stick to grace; they are neither anointed by affection and are also not bound by merits. Enjoying with him during the night without making any noise, she now consinered her husband as an obstacle in her fearless love-making. Acting on her own volition, she now decided to kill him by a ruse. By deceit, she now feigned an excruciating headache, she tied a band on her forehead displaying her sin as though writ large by it. In order to cure her from that severe ache the prince thought very many ways through compassion. Worried and sorrowful and heaving sighs, she spoke "when I was an unmarried girl I had suffered from a

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similar headache which was cured by the physicians by besmearing the exudus of stones (Pāśāṇabheda). Of this mountain's top abounds in Pāṣāṇabheda, you may ascend with the help of a rope and fetch it, if possible. I shall be holding your support with my hands, thus told by his wife he agreed due to his love for her. With the help of a support held by her for a while he dangled on the bank of the mountain river beset with the din of the falling rocks. Busy in collecting the medicine his wife left support and he fell in the waters of the river which was as fickle as the mind of a woman. As the merit of his good deeds was still in reserve, his limbs were not broken, but thought to himself as he was being swept away by the current. By showing the whirl pool of the waters reflecting the image of the mind of a woman, my wife has thought taught me a lesson in undertanding the behaviour of a woman. The deceit and women cannot be recognized like plans made in a dream, they are possessed of attachment wrong habit and inconstant effort, they are busy in deluding all persons, exciting their love, even by a momentary acquainiance with them, is bound to bring a fall. Thinking thus, he was carried away by the strong current of the river, he was carried away to the town of Puśkarâvatī by dint of his meritorious deeds. At that moment the king of that country had died without a son. He was picked up by the astrologers and chief ministers He was anointed there by them as per prescribed rules as a king, but he was averse to marriage as he had seen the strange behaviour of a woman.

Kalaṅkavatī also was now perturbed on that mountain whieh was bereft of the Bodhisattva, Kalaṅkavatī also perturbed in due course by the non-supply of medicine and vigour and by a cut in her means of livelhood. She put the stump of man on her shoulders, begged on the paths of villages and towns declaring herself as a devoted wife to her husband.

Honouring her as one devoted to her husband, all people gave her a lot. Gradually roaming about, she reached Puṣkarā-

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vatī, revered by all as the frithful to husband, she reached near the door of the king. The king is averse to the behaviour of women, he may atleast revere the one who is faithful to her husband, thinking this the priest out of devotion spoke to the king. A women faithful to her hasband has come from a distant country and has sancified the earth of beings by her steps. O Lord ! Kindly see the faithful who has placed her husband on her shoulders, by bowing to the one who is faithful to her husband, the life of a person inceases. When the king was thus requested to see her, the king tald him "you do not know—a simple Brahmin that you are." That a woman is affectionate is a rumour; that she is motiveless—is a derangement of mind; that she is faithful to her husband is like obtaining flowers of the sky, the woman is sinful there is no doubt about it. The women are like bamboo reeds fettersome without any roots and fruitless, are simple in the assembly of people.

The women have the only modesty to creating quarrel and treachrousness, salutation to women ! salutation to women! and that I have seen the reprehensible behaviour a woman and that my mind is inflicted with its pain, even this earth laden with jewels does not please me.

The women are as candid as the female does of the mountain but are very sharp in deceiving others; they sell their body they take away the life of men; and eat up even the fire, by the application of hundreds of thoughts is not known whether ahey are ingenue or they are crooked.

Besides if you insist I shall see her. Saying this the king climbed up the palace and looked at her from there.

Recognizing the sinful woman as she alone accompanied with the stump (whose limbs were cut), king narrated her story to the ministers.

Recognizing the king from her side, the sinful woman with her face downcast, she hurriod out chased by the people closing their ears.

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I am the son of the King, named Viśāikha. The bride is this Devadatta. Listening to the narrative as told by the Jina, the assembly of monks spoke ill about her behaviour."[1]

Kṣemendra's narrative of Viśākha is a pointer not to trust the women's behaviour in any circumstances. The Bodhisattva is even afraid of thinking a sinful plan which made him run away from the company of his brothers who had resolved to kill their wives. In order to keep and protect the life of his wife, he made drink his own blood which oozed out of the vein he had cut for the purpose. In a desert there was no other altenative forhim, but to cut his vein and quench the thirst to his beloved wife. He cannot see any other person in distress. Not caring for his own self he entered into the river to take out the drowning person whose hands and feet were cut. His compassion grew further and he cured his wounds by providing constant medical attention and food in his own house. He remained compassionate towards him all the while and treated him as a being in need of attention and help. He never suspected infidelity of his wife and agreed to climb up the mouutain cliff with the help of a rope whose one end was held by his wife. To alleviate the ache of his wife, he undertook a difficult task of bringing the herb from the mountain cliff not caring for his own life. The Bonhisattva Viśākha was himself placed in adverse circumstances but his virtue of compassion towards his wife and the stump man did not relax. Self-restraint, continence and compassion continued to dominante his way of life. His extraorinary goodness of heart and firmess of intention is eloquently mentioned by Kṣemendra. To live blameful and dishonoured was hated by him to the extent. This resolve made him rise to the occasion of helping his wife who was only feigning her headache.

1. Kṣemendra's narrative is like that of the Jātakamālā. Vide Speyer, J.S. : Translation in English quoted above and elsewhere to upkeep the beauty of Speyer's narratives.

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The Bodhisattva found himfelf in a miserable plight when he fell into the waters of the river, but was saved from falling on the rocks which could have broken his limbs. Being swept away by the waters of the river, he only thought how the low-minded did wicked actions in consequence of their cruelty. By the chosen narrative Kṣemendra brings home the point that the virtuous like Bodhisattva Viśākha, even when in danger of life, are the least capable of transgressing their proper line of conduct. Upon seeing his wife with the stump he did not loose temper and did not transgress his proper line of conduct, mocking only at the fickle-mindedness of women. He kept up his motto that it did not as all befit a wise man to offend living beings in whatever state they may be, muchless to sin against them, a pious man must be intent on practising compassion towards the living beings. Kṣemendra in a novel way, has taught by the narrative of Viśākha one of the most coveted principle of Compassion so earnestly preached in the Mahāyānā Buddhism.

Maṇicūḍāvadāna:

"In this strange creation where the jewels are born in the ocean, rarely is born a jewel of the men who shows the rightful path. There was a town Sāketa by name which was the very mark of good fortune on the earth. The town was as white as camphor by the beams of the moon. The town was the abode of many merit-earning persons who were possessed of lustre and forbearance and their minds as pure as the Ganges. Therein lived the subjects as in the garden of Indra enjoying in the garden of good deeds, where the fame was flowering and where pervaded the odour of merits.

In that town lived a King named Hemacūḍa, an ocean of jewels of his abundant profound qualities resplendant by the lustre of his moon-like fame. By providing his support, which scared the time of Kali, he made his subjects abounding in merits like the Kṛta age.

The King was an able forgiver, encircleed by the goddess

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of wealth, was engrossed in compassion. He was renowned as a true controller of senses and very dear to his subjects.

Initiated in the session of non-violence he gave the merit-full gift of fearlessness like the pot of ambrosia of gods to all the beings.

He had a wife named Kāntimatī who was like the lutsre of the dawn. She shone with him as the beauty shines forth with modesty. She conceived for the prosperity of the world with the lotus of the world as Aditi bore the son.

As the full moon is born in the heaven, the queen gave birth to a son who was the destroyer of darkness (ignorance) from the world. On his head, he had a jewel which decor ated his kind of hair which was like the discernming power of intelled. At his birth the gods rejoiced in the heaven, showering from the sky the flowers, jewels, flags, royal umbellas, banners, chowries and clothes.

As this son born to the royal couple had penetrated into all sorts of knowledge, the King gave him the name Maṇicūda. As the wish-yielding tree was born of the ocean, this son gladdened the heart of his father by ambrosia of affection. As the wife of Indra was gladdened by the birth of Jayanta and Pārvatī by the birth of Kumāra (Kārtikeya) his mother was also rejoiced by his adorable birth.

Maṇicūda became the king after his father ascended into the heaven by the stairway of his meritorious deeds. He was the cintamaṇi (wish-yielding) jewel for the supplicants whose demands were fulfilled by his charity; in the light of his merit-based happiness, there was neither an afflicted nor a supplicant. He had an elephent named Bhadragiri, the best among elephants whose temples were always wet with oozing ichor like his master the King whose lotus-hand was always drenched with the water while acceding gifts in charity.

When this leader of the world was once sitting in his assembly hall, there came to him a saint born in the family of Bhṛgu named Bhavabhūti. He was accompanied by a divine girl with beautiful and delicate face, as if she was the lustre of

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the full moon born in person. She looked very bashful in the world by her unconversant breasts, by the rosiness of her lotus-like feet and by the unsteadiness of her eyes.

Followed by that maiden like the lustre of his austerities, the Lord of the puplic revered him when was properly seated. The girl was very much surprlsed to see him and made him the object of her desire, seeing the King who was unmoved, deep (gambhira) and beautiful, who was like cupid who had abandoned his bow due to compassion towards other beings. By the rays coming out of his crest-jewel which were annihilating the evil, he was as if writing the mesage of protection with vermilion in all the quarters. A chowrie was being waved on him which displaced the wind arouud him with a sound like the sighs of his heart till he uplifted the world. He was putting on a necklace studded with a big jewel which attracted toward him and rested on his chest like the Śeṣanāga for the appeasement of agonise of the nether world. He was bearing the earth by his big arm and by his mind the forbearance.

The saint took the girl on his lap whose eyes moved like that of a doe, and was the life-giver to the bodyless cupid, and spoke to the master of the world.

This world shines by your rise and that of the sun which open the eyes and lotuses of the world. It is surprising that you do not have jealousy towords qualities and pride increased by infatuation (saṃmoha) which easily rise in the advent of prosperity. you are the lord of the world and when your mind is full of Compassion for the world O King ! you have stationed the fame by the attachment of friendiness and by the ultimate resolves. You are the simple bestower without a remorse and performer of meritorious deeds without any motive, and therefore, you are held in highest esteem by the wise. This lotus-eyed girl has come out of lotus and has been brought up by me in my hermitage by the milk left after the performance of sacrifices. O King ! accept her as yonr chief-

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queen and wife. O best among men ! she is befitting to you as Laksmī is to Puruṣottama Viṣṇu. You will give me the entire rent of my sacrifices in course of time—saying this and after giving away the girl to the King with due rites, the ascetic departed.

As the cupid had obtained Rati as his wife, the King having obtained Padmāvatī as his beloved enjoyed in a beautiful garden like a meritorious person who enjoys in his meritful deeds.

In due course she gave birth to a son named Padmacūda like a pearl among the rosary beads of the clan who reflected the qualities of his father like in a mirror. His great rise was unsurpassed by the regents of the quarters, Indra etc. The creator, Brahmā, born of the lotus praised his disposition. By the scent of his fame, he filled even the directions and subdirections. He was a wish-yielding tree for the fulfilment of the desires of all supplicants.

Remembering the words of the ascetic, the King proceeded to perform largesses accompanied with non-violence and full of gold. That sacrifice was attended by ascetics like Bhārgava, and Kings like Duṣprasaha when that sacrifice was being performed which showered countless gold, Indra came out from the fire in the form of a demon.

Going near the King, the demon with frail and ugly body asked for something to drink and eat saying that he was thirsty and hungry. By the order of the King, the known servants brought varied food and drink for him. The demon laughing a little spoke to the King, O King, this does not please me as we are the flesh-eaters. By a lot of flesh and blood of a person freshly killed, I would feel satisfied ; give me what I desire. You are the satisfier of all desires, thinking this alone, I have come to you. Having said that I would give, it is not proper for you to deny it. Listening to the words of the demon the King was full of compassion and was sorry that there was rule of non-violence in the sacrifice. He thought that by the

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stroke of destiny, a hurdle in the performance of righteousness had been caused, I neither bear the cruel violence, nor the going away of the supplicant without a gift. Without killing the flesh cannot be obtained from the bodies, and I cannot bear a little torture to the body of even an ant. After granting the benevolent gift of fearlessness to all the beings, how can I give him the meat which may be obtained by killing a being. Having thought thus, but overcome by compassion, the King spoke to him. I shall give you, flesh and draughts of blood taken from my own body. The whole world was now shaken by the words of the King His ministers were not able to bear his courage of giving away his body. Due to affection, he was stopped by-the sages and the kings, but he cut his body and gave away his flesh, blood and fat to the demon. He drank his blood to his entire satisfaction and when the king was being eaten thus though his flesh. The earth was also shaken for a moment (by this extraordinary way of extreme compassion). The queen Padmāvatī seeing her husband in that state cried and fell on the ground swooned away. The chief of gods, seeing this excessive valour of the chief of men, discarded his form of a demon and folding his hands spoke.

By this impossible deed of yours, O King ! who does not find his hair erect ?

Without any attachment that you are O King ! it is the limit of meritorious acts an unsurpassed fortitude and the limited of forbearance. The magnimous are the bridges of meritorious deeds, there are in agony by the misery of others, free from greed for things which are rare, are full of pardon to their opponents. The rare courage of fortitude of the great rises by their compassion the three worlds receive their kind look when they are submerged in compassion.

Saying this Indra healed his body with the help of divine medicines, and having cheered away to his abode with downcast face.

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When the sacrifice was terminated with the prescribed rules, the King who was propitiated by the gods, adored the best of ascetice and the king.

At the end of the sacrifice, showering the jewels the gave away maidens, villages and townes, along with a golden crested horse befitting the gods. He gave away the royal elephant to the pricst named Brahmaratha who covered the distance of a hundred yojanas in a day.

When the King Duşprasaha saw that the royal elephant Bhadragiri was also given away, his mind was perturbed by its longins.

When the King had left astonishing at the splendour of the sacrifice, the fruit of the sacrifice was given away by the King to Bhārgava.

The disciple of Marīci named Vāhika who was given a seat and was duly propitiated declaring his benedictions reached him and said : O King ! at the end of my studies my teacher wants his fee and is asking for an attendant impossible to be obtained by a commoner. You are the only one made by the providence as tne bestower of impossible things. Wish-yielding trees do not grow in the world. Kindly give your queen Padmāvatī along with her son as an attendant to the old teacher who is frail by penance.

When the King was thus told by the ascetic, he subdued the fever born of the separation of his beloved in his mind, and he the mountain of forbearance spoke to him. "I give O Ascatic ! your desired fee for the teacher my beloved queen precious then my life along with the heir-apparent." Saying this, the King gave away Padmavatī along with the son. Those who are possessed of fortitude their sacrifice remains diaffectionate to their own life. The ascetic took the queen who was distressed by the grief of separation along with her son to the hermitage and gave to his teacher."

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The narrative of Kṣemendra has a striking simslitude with the story of Maitrībala found in the Jātakamāla of Āryaśūra. Cariyāpitaka and Pāli Jātaka do not have an account of Maitrībala and as it seems both Āryaśūra and Kṣemendra worked out their narrative from some other source. Āryaśūra took the narrative and interlaced the story of four Yakṣas who came to the kingdom of Maitrībala changing their Form as goblins in order to create a disorder in his realm, but were rendered impotent and were not able to debilitate any one living in his kingdom. Then they assumed the form of Brahmins and approached the King Matrībala at the time of his audience and asked him for a meal. The King rejoiced and ordered his officer to preaent the Brahmins with a delicious meal. The Yakṣas , however, were not ready to accept meal served to them and said they did not feed on dishes suited to the royal table They upon being asked again the sort of repast agreeable to them, desired raw human flesh, freshly cut off and still warm, and human blood. They then assumed their own disfigured and frightful features with flat and misshapen noses Kṣemendra has, however, improved upon this narrative. He mentions a few details which though similar to the story of Āryaśūra became more intiresting and suit the contex of Bodhisattva Maṇicūḍa very well. Maṇicūḍa is been to the king Hemacūda with a crest jewel on his head. He is given Padmāvatī by an ascetic named Bhārgava who while giving away his foster child in marriage asked Maṇicūda to perform sacrifice after the birth of a son to him. He also asked for the merit of the sacrifice to be turned over to him. The King Maṇicūda is blessed with a son by his marriage with Padmāvati and performs a great sacrifice. The kings and ascetice who come to attend upon the sacrifice are astonished at the splendour of the sacrifice, from the fire of the altar arose a demon who was no other then Indra who came to test thc compassionate nature of the King. The demon asked for an impossible thing from the King and that was the fresh human flesh and blood.

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As the King had vowed not to kill any being, he is left with no other alternative but to offer his own flesh and blood. Though the ministers and other guest ascetics who were attending the session of the sacrifice, request Maṇicūda not to offer his own flesh and blood, the Bodhisattva's resolve not to shy away from the thing asked by supplicants, makes him promise his own flesh and he offers it with all humility and willingness not thinking of the consequence. The demon eats all the flesh and blood offerhd by the King, but is astonished by the way of this sacrifice. He then reassumes his own form of Indra and rejuvenates the body of the Bodhisattva, and admiring the qualities of Bodhisattva goes away with downcast face thinking that he could not outwit the firm resolve of Maṇicūda who had accumulated so many merits that he could not be outwitted even by Indra, the chief of gods.

Kṣemendra's narrative of Maṇicūtra's accompleshments is one of the most remarkable Avadāna found in the Bodhisattvādānakalpalatā. Kṣemendra has demonstrated here his excellent quality of description coupled with his superb power of incorporating the relevant details, and in some respects he has superseded his other predecessors in this respect. He has painted Maṇicūda being affiicted by the sufferinns of others. Being intensely compassionate he did not mind his own discorfort. The Bodhisattva always had in view his purpose of saving the creatures, had fixed upon the exercise of the pāramitā of compassion. He always increased his matchless virtues of charity, humility, self-restraint, tenderness, and the like, and applied them for the benefit of the world. He was kind-hearted towards all creatures. He felt the weal and the woe of his subjects as his own, and being adept in the art of protecting, he handled his sword and his law in consonance with this feeling. He never needed to wield the sword and show his mettle since all other kings waited for his orders. With the help of law he took such measures which promoted the welfare of his

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people. In dealing with punishments and rewards, he never infringed righteousness. Goodness of heart and his political wisdom made him inquire into his subjects like a father.

In his rule prevailed righteousnes. Veracity of his action and words conduced him to the welfare of others. He thus increased the accumlation of lofty actions. These became his preious requisites for the attainment of Buddhahood. These qualities, he inherited from his father Hémacūda. No calamities loomed on his kingdom. The people rejoiced. They were satisfied to the core of their heart, were thriving, haviug merriment and manifold festivals became an order of their daily life. The mere intention of shielding by the king proved the highest protection to the people. In the fearlessness that they received by the just deeds of their King, they looked brave and contemptuous of fear. Renowned was the power of the king obtained through his high-mindedness. His strength rested on friendliness and not on his army which he kept only to comply with custom. He knew no anger, nor spoke harsh words. He protected his land in proper manner. Righteousness prevailed as a rule of his actions. His wealth served to honour the virtuous. Endowed with such marvellous qualities, he did not take into himself either the wealth of the wicked, or pride. No calamities had the power to harm the inhabitants of his kingdom.

The moral bounds bounded the people in their everyday life. In consequence a constant abundance of food and uninterrupted welfare provided to them by dint of meritorious acts performed by the king, the people dressed splendidly, yet banning presumptuousness; kindness was the rule to behave with worthy strangers who came to them as guests. The virtrues of their king left them in an enrapture. The praises of his glory they proclaimed with gladness, and these became like some ausplcious and eyil-averting charm. Reverence for

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his virtue knew no bounds in the people and propelled by it they flocked for getting the sight of him.

In the narrative of Kṣemendra, the king Maṇicūḍa agreed to perform a sacrifice in order to distribute the merit by its performance to the sage Bhārgava. This selfless motive was in itself a remarkable trait of the Bodhisattva. Indra, the chief of gods was himself moved by this sacrifice and in order to dislodge Maṇicūḍa from the path of virtue took the form of a demon came out of the sacrificial fire, thinking that the king would not be able either to fulfil his vow of not killing man to feed him with his flesh and blood, or would himself move away from the path of charity and granting things wanted by a supplicant as mean as himself. In both the estimates of the virtue of Maṇiūḍa, the demon or in fact Indra was proved wrong. Being wedded to the principle of charity and non-violence, he offered his own flesh for consumption to the demon. A limitless idea of such charitable disposition is brought to limelight by the powerful description of Kṣemendra. Indra was thus defeated in his under estimation of the virtue of charity beloaging to the Bodhisattva Maṇicūḍa.

Yet further limit of charity and compassion is seen his remarkable gift of his beloved wife and son to the ascetic who asked them to be given away as the fee for the teacher Marīca. Without clinging to the sentiment of affection, the Bodhisattva gave away his wife accompanied with the son as a maid. No second thought was given by him to the demand. He does not lower the prestige of the supplicant, but concede to his demand in the very first askance.

The Bodhisattva gifted away his precious elephant to the priest as a fee for officiating the sacrifice. If he had not given it away, he would have gifted it to Dussaha who wanted to wage war against Maṇicūḍa for the elephant. In order to avoid killing of soldiers, the Bodhisattva leaves the kingdom and is taken to the Himalayas by the four Pratyeka Buddhas. In the

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Jungle, he meets his wife who was crying for help to be saved from the moletation of the hunters. Maṇicūda saves, her, but has full control of his self. Though lured by the cupid (Māra) he discourses on the hollowness of the worldly attachments, dissuades the cupid from enticing him, asks his wife not to divert him from the path of non-attachment and clears the path of forbearance for himself. Each act of the Bodhisattva here is a lesson to follow for human beings, broadening the path of righteousness.

Maṇicūda's son was brought back from the hermitage of Marīci to succeed his father as a king. By his valour he defeats the king Dussaha and establishes the confidence of the public. A country engaged in a war for a long time looses stability. The kingdome of Duṣprasaha after his return from the war became a prey to disease, hunger and famine. The ministers advise him to get the ominous jewel 'Viśvacintāmaṇi' from Maṇicūḍa whom they said lived on the Himalayas and was seated in the pellucid pond of discernment from the world. The five Brahmins sent by Duṣprasaha reach to Maṇicūḍa and request him to donate the jewel which was then on his head from the time of his birth. He agrees to give away this jewel in order to restore the kingdom of Duṣprasaha from the ravages of famine and hunger. He started cutting off the jewel from the top of his head. The earth was shaken by this unparallelled way of charity and compession even towards the people of his enemy king. Unmindful of the pain, he cut off the jewel from the top of his head for the good of his enemy king, he swooned away by the pain of his wound. The ascetice Bhārgava, Gautama and Marīci reach to him along with Padmāvatī who swoons away by seeing her husband emaciated by the excessive bleeding and bereft of the jewel on his head. The ascetic Marīci praised his compassion towards beings, and the way by which he distributed his body like straw. He expressed his eternal desire that he did not feel any pain in taking out the jewel from his head in order to protect other beings. He

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further wanted to be born in the world in the same way so that he may be able to redeem the beings in the world. No defilement of his mind or swerving away from his resolve was at all a beset in his mind and said : if my mind did not feel any resentment in giving away the jewel by cutting through body and if this may be true, my body may get healed at this very instant." As soon as he uttered these words, to the amazement of all the ascetics another jewel grew on his head and his wound was healed as if nothing had happened to him. Sage Marīci rendered Padmāvatī to him ending the woe of her separation from her husband. They were then transported by a celestial chariot to their kingdom where he ruled for a long time and finally attained the realm of the Buddha.

The Bodhisattva Maṇicūḍa passed for the leader of his people in matters of righteousness, and refrained from walking in the wrong path, wondering at the condition of his subjects who were ready to follow the example of his behaviour. He was never a faint-hearted nor was subdued by self-love. With these too powers he advanced and promoted the welfare of his people. He sustained the links of his body for the sake of supplicants. He was incapable of bearing the pain of strangers much less could he bear the suffering of people in his vicinity. He prohibited the people and his ministers to attach any importance to his person and expected them to put obstacles in the way of his righteous behaviour. Thus he secured his determination and went unhindered in its fulfilment. He was in the habit of dealing in the proper manner with his mendicants. He considered that person as an impious one who prohibited any one wishing for his own sake to give in charity food or the like. The same was applicable to a gift of his body coming of mendicants to him, he considered as obtained through the grace of deities. To his body he did not attach any importance and considered it as frail and an abode of woe. Considering this he thought it as meanness of mind

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even to hesitate at the time of the appearance of mendicants who were to him always uncommon. Self-love was a misery and deepest darkness. Persuasion was his method of accomplishing a work.

In each deed of charity the Bodhisattva spoke to the supplicant such words which would not make him feel in any way inferior : "Deign to assist me in this pious performance and to procure for me the highest gladness by accepting this bounty."[1]

In consequence of the high degree of his gladness, of his magnanimous forbearance, and also of his corporeal strength, at no time did his body fade, nor did his mind faint. As a benefactor, he never had a remorse which worked as an encouragement to his supplicants who went away satisfied and amazed. Indra as a demon is perplexed to eat flesh and blood from the body of the Bodhisattva. Seeing no ray of disdain or remorse on the face of his benefactor he feels shy of putting Maṇicūḍa to a tryster, and leaves in a huff considering that his test was rather too harsh for the benevolence of the Bodhisattva.

Serenity of his countenance was enhanced by his expanding joy—a prelude to the offering of his body for a supplicant. The Mahāyāna concept of charity is woven in the best possible way by Kṣemendra while describing the benefactions of Manicūda. Can there be a more eloquent delineation of the virtue of solacing the supplicant ? The joy Maṇicūḍa experienced by giving did not leave room for the sense of pain caused by cutting, and prevented his mind again and again from being immersed in sorrow. The needy supplicant alone can read the grimaces if at all of the giver. Whilst the Bodhisattva satisfied the nocturnal demon with pieces of his flesh and warm blood oozing from his veins, to such an extent that the cruel heart of the demon unclosed itself to softness. A regeneration

1. Jātakamāla, Tr. J.S. Speyer.

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of the heart of the demon burnt by the hatred was changed into the gold of tenderness and faith by love of the Law or by compassion of the Bodhisattva who had abandoned his own dear body for the benefit of others. Who other than Maṇicūḍa, who, though intent on cutting out his own flesh, could be yet as calm as ever ? An unshaken serenity of countenance and dauntless intrepidity against the pain caused by the work of his sword, elicited the utmost tenderness and admiration in the minds of the sages and ascetics who had assembled to witness the sacrifice. They considered it as a wonder or a miracle, paused to believe it to be true, were perplexed to see it perhaps as a phantasm. Mankind looked happy, indeed, being under the protection of such a person as Maṇicūḍa. It was apparent that the goal he was striving after could not be very far from his strong dermination. From his mind's eye, he regarded those helpless creatures distressed by toil and sufferings because of the violent calamities and vices to which they are liable. For their sakes, by means of his meritorious action he wished to attain All-knowingness, and to vanquish the evil passions, his enemies, and with all intentness desired to save the creatures from the Ocean of Existence, the roughest of the seas with its billows of old age, sickness and death.

Kṣemendra has strived to show further act of charity[1] on the part of the Bodhisattva in giving away his dear wife as a maid-servant to the ascetic along with their son. Further act of charity in his disposition is found in his giving his birth-jewel born on his head from his very birth. Seeing the Brahmins hesitant to take out the jewel, the Bodhisattva himself cuts it out and offers them the diadem for the protection of the people of his enemy-king who was the sole cause of his being uprooted as a king. He did not succumb to the ensnares of the Cupid who time and again asked to accompany his gifted away wife. In all these trying circumstances, the Bodhi-

1. AKL., Avadāna 59,16.

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sattva's determination won over the frailty of human behaviour. All his actions tended to the salvation of all creatures. The earnestness with which each act at charity and compassion was committed, cured the Bodhisattva from the wound of his head, while carving out the jewel. Others may see in this a miracle, but the Mahāyāna view of Kṣemendra points it as a result of righteousness which has the ultimate supreme power of protection and salvation.

Kṣāntyāvadāna :

"Those capable of doing good deeds who have wholly imbibed the virtue of forbearance and are amazing by their countenance of tranquillity, they bear the load of the earth like the serpant Śeṣa and still remain unfatigued. Long ago there was a Yakṣa name Udumba who had started devastating earth and rejoiced in his endeavour acting as an enemy and causing terror to the people.

The compassionate Lord Buddha subdued him and when he took refuge in him taught him to be modest and made him tranquil. When he was subdued and the earth did not have any calamity, the Lord of gods (Indra) approached Lord Buddha to see him and as the Lord was smiling, he questioned.

How is that this smile like a ray of moon has suddenly appeared on your lotus-like face which appears so amazing. Those who are the oceans of fortitude do not laugh like a common man.

Listening to this sentance of the Lord of gods, the all-perceving Lord Buddha replied that in this region that I remembered the account of my former existence which made me laugh, O Indra !

Formerly the ascetic Kṣāntivādin lived in this forest who had completely uprooted the anomaly of anger. He was inimical to the defilement of infatuiation like moon to the day-lotus.

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The ascetic Kṣāntivādin was emienent by his conduct, his bearing, his placidity of mind, his modesty, and his self-restraint. He preached an absolute forbearance and taught the Law from the strict conformity with the vow he had taken. He knew the power of forbearance and desired to adorn mankind like himself, he constantly discoursed on that quality. His very nature was as if the great endurance, the firmness of which he showed by his unaltered calm, when injured by others. He earned renown of a Muni by giving excellent sermons on that subject. He lived in utter solitude in a forest. The spot received the holiness of a hermitage by his dwelling there. Lovers of virtues flocked there desirous of their salvation.

The King of that country whose name was Kali went in the vicinity of the hermitage of the Muni and dallied with his harem in a lake there. Some of the women went ahead to explore the beauty of the forest and strayed into the hermitage of that sage. Upon their insistance, he gave them a discourse on forbearance. They were so much enchanted by the sermon that they tarried there and became unmindful of the king who came there to search for them. Looking at their intentness to listen to the sage and engrossment of their mind on the powerful words of the sermon, the king being jealous took the sage to be a cheat and an enticer of his women and cut off his hands and feet. Even at this outrage, the sage did not whow any sign of anger against the king and continued to show his forbearance. Other ascetics came there to see him and finding the Muni with his hands and feet cut off, they though quiet by nature were forced to curse the king for the outrage. Kṣāntirati, the Bodhisattva warded them from their temper saying that those whose minds are saturated with forbearance do not succumb to anger. He further showed them the power of truth of his stand saying that he was not in the least taken up by the anger towards that King and if it may be true he may get back his hands and feet. The truth of his

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speech rendered back his limbs and he was once again his original self. The Bodhisattva showed that the honesty of purpose is itself a powerful thing which helped a man in all adverse circumstances.

The King was in turn punished by his sins and upon his death was thrown in the hell named SAMVARTAPĀKA.

Lord Buddha explained to Indra that He was himself the sage Kṣāntirati and Devadatta was the King Kali who cut his limbs. Reflecting over the incident of his past life, he had smiled. Indra, listening to the remarkable feat of the Bodhisattva, was astonished and he ascended back to the heaven in utter amazement."

A good many virtues have been mentioned by Kṣemendra which augment forbearance in a man and which the Bodhisattva cultivated. Time and again the poet mentions that a man may be ever so excellent by his birth, his figure, his age his superior power or the wealth of his estate, no happiness would accrue to him in this or the other world, unless he be purified by charity, good conduct and flawless forbearance.[1] Noble birth is surely not a criterion, nor any other thing is helpful to attain any kind of bliss, but the surest path for its attainment is to abhor wickedness and to resort to the virtues of charity, good conduct etc. Attachment to virtues is the most proper decoration and beautifying ornament for a person who is steadily looking forward for a blissful life in this world and also in the next. Virtues brought to perfection by constant practice are the most proper ornaments of living beings.

The Karmic cycle works in the case of men with respect to their health, duration of life, beauty of figure, wealth and birth. A man's acfions (Karma) bring the result in such forms and place him low, middle and high in rank in the world.[2] This

1. AKL., Avadāna 59, Śloka 56.
2. AKL., Avadāna 50, Śloka 31-34, 141 ; Avadāna 59, 56.

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law is fixed for all human existence. Keeping in mind the fickleness and frailness of life, a man must, therefore, avoid wickedness and direct his heart to pious behaviour. This is the path leading to good reputation and to constant happiness.

Defilement in the mind works out its devastation. It acts like a fire to it, burns aways the good of one's self and one's friends from the neighbourhood. Fear from wickedness is always to be guarded in order to keep off defilement of the mind. Reliance on forbearance extinguishes the fire within the mind of a man. Of great benefit and solace to the mind is forbearance. He who wants to practice this virtue must avoid wickedness so that its causes may be vanquished. He will thus check enmity by constantly cherishing friendliness. He will thus obtain endearment from all and become honoured, and accordingly enjoy a happy life. At the end he ascends to the heaven with an ease due to his attachment to a meritorious behaviour. Forbearance in the word is recognized as the highest degree of piousness. It attains the highest development obtainable by merit and good repute.

Firmness of mind allows the virtuous to remain indifferent to injuries done to them by others. It acquaints a man with pity and benefits mankind. There is no other ornament of the powerful but the ornament of forbearance, it is the highest pitch of the strength of ascetics. The conflagration of evils extinguishes by a shower of forberance. It acts as coat of mail for blunting the arrows which a wicked may shoot off by his tongue. Delusion is annihilated by its fostering. It is an easy contrivance to reach salvation, and is invariably conducive to happiness.[1]

Kṣemendra has taught by the narrative of Kṣāntirati that one ought to purify one's mind of rashness, and to remain only intent on such actions as tend to good repute. Transgres-

1. AKL., Avadāna 59, Śloka 16, 125, 149.

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sions of a decent behaviour are highly ill-famed, if they are committed by persons of a high rank in whom they were not seen before.[1] Forbearance is the chief ornament of a powerful person as it betrays his cleverness in safeguarding the treasury of his virtues. Forbearance remains upright and unperished even when the body of a person is maimed or cut, for in numbers of existences the body has met with destruction in manifold ways. Thus at the peril of one's life and body, constancy should be kept unshaken relying on forbearance.[2] For those who have wholly imbibed the virtue of forbearance and are great in keeping their tranquillity there is nothing which they cannot bear.[3] Rashness and wrath expose a man as stupid. Sensual pleasures lead a man to become addicted to wicked behaviour which brings him into irreversible ruin.

Hastyāvadāna :

"The righteous highly consider even pain caused to them if they may cause by it the happiness of others. They deem it as a gain and undergo the travails of such a pain. All this they do as they constantly yearn for compassion. They consider the body as a vessel of many infirmities, a substratum of manifold toil, and assemblage of evils and a substratum of manifold toil caused by everlasting illness.

The light of the sun is not the joy of the moon, blowing of the wind is the fever of fire. For the great who are engaged in compassion the innate nature is to do good to others.

Once Udayana, the King who wanted to sport in the garden was enjoying with his wives in Avanti.

His lotus-eyed women who were engaged in plucking

1. AKL., Avadāna 59, Śloka 137.
2. Chinnāṅgavargo'pi sa nirvikāraścukopa bhūpāya na nāma dhīraḥ— AKL., Avadāna 34, 14.
3. Kṣamāsamāliṅgitamānasānāṁ Kopakriyābhiḥ Kriyate na saṅgaḥ— AKL., 38, 16.

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flowers were seen by five hundred ascetics who came on their own accord.

The King got their hands and feet cut out of jealousy and anger as they fixed their gaze on his beloveds.

Lord Buddha with his compassionate look saw them who were in deep pain and were crying piteous cries due to cutting of their limbs.

By his mere look full of nectar they were touched and held their lives, their limbs being restored and by the disappearance of their pain.

Those ascetics attained the fruit of anāgama very soon as they came to his refuge and the Lord gave them a discourse on the Law.

Having seen that the monks in all amazement asked the Lord Buddha who said that I had redeemed them in the past also by compassion.

Once in Vārānasī, the King Brahmadatta had banished his five hundred sinful ministers. Being tortured by the fear of the King they engaged going on a way leading to a desert.

The Bodhisatta who was at that time an elephant named Bhadra was pierced by their piteous cries due to compassion.

By his huge trunk he brought water from far away and quenched their thirst and gave them water, roots and fruits.

They were further carried on its back and were made to bear life ; their inexhaustible fatigue was removed and they finally attained repose.

That elephant who left his life in course of time, they worshipped him like a god after propitiating its body.

I was in those days the elephant and these (ascetices) in the past the ministers who were redeemed by me from calamity like these ascetics from peril.

Lord Buddha having said so, who had taken a vow to

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redeem all, being worshipped by the most of sages went to his nook of the forest.

The river of nectar in the form of compassion of the Master is always victorious which is the messenger of all happiness and bounty (कुशल), it acts as a cool shade for the desert of this world."[1]

The above-mentioned Avadānas and others found in the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā depict Kṣemendra as a firm believer in the Buddhist Mahāyāna principles of charity, forbearance, chastity, purification of the organs of sense, constant attentiveness, detachment from the world, and the concentration of the mind to the meditation on friendliness which put the Buddhist aspirant on the excellent path of world renunciation. In the same Buddhist vein, he describes this mortal body being brute, frail, pithless, ungrateful, always impure, and a source of constant suffering. The teaching of the poet is that he is not the least wise who should not rejoice at its being spent for the benefit of another.

Against avarice is said that he who after promising to give, does not keep his promise, being driven by his resolution, by his avarice, should be held for lowliest for men. Excellent meritorious action done by a man comes forth to restore him his lost and impaired limbs.

In Kṣemendra's belief wealth is a contemptible thing, because it is pithless. It has one virtue, that it can be given away by him who aims at the welfare of living beings. When given away it becomes a treasure otherwise its ultimate object is nothing but death.

The gift that proceeds from faith of the heart and is bestowed on a worthy recipient produces a great result—a great merit. There is no such thing as a trifling gift if it is given with faith. Even the gift of a small portion of saltless, dry,

1. The Jātaka is thus translated by J.S. Speyer in eloquent terms.

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coarse and burnt up gruel which may be worth nothing, may earn rich affluence of its fruit if given with all faith of the heart. Performing meritorious actions by practising charity and good conduct bring forth large and spelndid result even when the good action may be a very small one. Almsgiving is a great treasure, indeed, a treasure which is always with us and is inaccessible to thieves and the rest. It cleanses the mind from the dirt of the sins of selfishness ; it is an easy vehicle by which to relieve the fatigue of the travel through this world. It works as our best and constant friend. It seeks to procure manifold pleasure and comfort for us. All is obtained by almsgiving, whatever may be wished for, whether it be abundance of riches or domination in the whole world. It is the essential cause of dominations and is the grand performance of piety. Even rags for dress, given away by the simple-minded, are a well-bestowed gift. Only the pious wish to exercise almsgiving even in spite of imminent peril. Thus fairness and integrity in commercial transactions procure the highest esteem and reward in this world.

The fire of knowledge burns away all the fuel of innate evil passions. Material prosperity is the principal cause of the world's striving after the triad of objects i.e., Dharma, Artha and Kāma.[1]

By good deeds alone the feeling of compassion for others can be nurtured. Wealth with charity alone can be called the path of virtue. The virtuous do not allow themselves to be deficient in the virtue of charity. Collection of goods are the source of violent and heavy calamities, they bring dissatisfaction in a short time and without any apparent reason. Charity alone raises joy to the highest pitch. Wealth is as fickle as a flash of lightning ; it may come to every one. It is the cause of many unfold calamities. No nobleman clings to selfishness, he who understands almsgiving as a source of happi-

1. AKL., Avadāna 59, 74.

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ness. Even he who cares more for his own interest than for the benefit of others, ought to give in charity, not caring for riches. Subduing covetousness with charitable deeds affords a person such gladness that cannot be generated by great opulence. No amount of riches lead a man to heaven, but charity alone can procure a holy reputation. Riches stand as impediments to the subduing of selfishness and the other vices. The duration of our life is as uncertain as the prosperity of our wealth. Thus reflecting, he who cares for riches, runs after their pursuit, is doomed for ever. People run after riches by every trade be it low and rough and prejudical to their reputation, not getting scared of danger. They are thus attached to their own pleasures and are misguided by their inconsiderateness. He who suffers at the suffering of others, and moved by compassion strives for the good of the world, forsakes riches as a trifling.

Life is as frail and fickle as a flesh of lightning. Meritorious actions, indeed, are the strongest support for the creatures moving round in the troublesome succession of births. Merit, thus gained, causes the sublimity of the qualities. Path of demerit has suffering underlying it, and is connected with dishonour. Merit alone is the illustrious source and instrument of happiness, thus who would not keep his mind intent on all opportunities of gathering it ?[1]

Honouring a guest is yet another way of gaining merit. Hospitality is yet another way of earning merit and extending compassion. Strength of mind, constancy, earnestness, wisdom and virtue are all gained by a person of hospitable disposition. Sublime deed of hospitality is impregnated with the fragrance of a constant practice of virtues. Liberality is an ornament even to ascetices. Householders must practise it to infuse friendliness in others. The state of a householder is a source

1. AKL., Avadāna 59, 125, 137.

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of sorrow, and affords but meagre comfort. Its close connection with wrong business is thronged with noxious qualities, it is the abode of carelessness about religious duties, it is a troublesome state, being connected with occupations for gathering wealth and guarding it. Many calamities and evil habits obstruct its tranquillity. Accompanied with toil, numberless tasks remain to be accomplished in it, which make the householder tread on a wrong path. Renunciation of the world brings about comfort by its freedom from those evils. Religious duties can be performed without any hindrances in renunciation alone. It is the proper basis for undertaking religious practices required for salvation.

Repeated births tend to great sorrow ; so do calamitous old age and illnesses. The necessity of death in the world is a disturbance to the mind. One who renounces resolves to save the creatures from those evils. A sage renounces and walks in the path of virtues himself and brings also others into that way. Words said for his good do not rouse his impatience. Uprightness and decency adorn him. It is always possible to make him accept what is said for his good. Covetedness, hatred, infatuation and foolishness do not harbour in him. It is the magnanimous path of virtue, a path of complete wisdom.[1]

Humility, self-restraint, tenderness, and the like, conduce to the welfare of others. Lofty actions are caused by their possession. They are the requisites for the attainment of Buddhahood. Veracity, liberality, tranquillity and wisdom are such virtues which when directed to the welfare of others arouse friendliness supreme in all circumstances In its strength alone can be defeated an army of mighty power. Pride is the wealth of the wicked and not of those who are compassionate.

The friends are those who conceive the desire of succouring their friend when their wealth has either diminished gradu-

1. AKL., Avadāna 51, 48.

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ally, or has been destroyed by the disfavour of destiny. He who, moved by love of the law of the Buddha or by compassion, abandons his own body for the benefit of others, such a man alone can regenerate the hearts of men burnt by the fire of hatred changing it into the gold of tenderness and faith. Helpless are those who are distressed by toil and sufferings because of the violent calamities and vices to which they are liable. Evil passions of man are his enemies. Saviour is he who saves beings from the ocean of existence, that rough sea with its billows ofold age, sickness and death.

He who intends to walk on the path of the Buddha avoids like poison these sins doing harm to others, coveting the good or wives of others, speaking evil, and drinking intoxicating liquours.[1]

The intensely compassionate do not mind their own pleasure, being afflicted by the sufferings of others. Those whose hearts are pure do not act up to the enticement of the wicked. Pure-heartedness is thus a thing to be striven after.

It does not at all befit a wise and compassionate man to offend living beings, a pious man must be intent on practising compassion towards the creatures. Injuring animals never tends to bliss.

Fools move away from the path of duty, stirred by any motive whatever, but the virtuous do not allow themselves to be led astray even in the greatest distress. Even when sick with heavy sorrow, the virtuous are disinclined to follow the path of the low-minded, being prevented from such actions by the firmness of their constancy. Can happiness be expected for him who commits a wicked action, though unwitnessed ? He who has given in this world something dear to him, receives in the next dear objects of exceeding loveliness. The virtuous do not like for themselves a pleasure, procured at the expense

1. AKL., Avadāna 59, 39.

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of others, whom they have distressed by bringing them into disrepute and the like. Speaking the truth on the ground of Righteousness is sufficient to dispel calamity at all times. Thus this is the invariable nature of the Bodhisattvas, that owing to to the innate acuteness of their mind, whatever branch of science or species of art they desire to know, they will in it surpass the wisest in the world.

Speech purified by truth cannot be surpassed not even by fire. Having this in mind, one must addict one self to speaking the truth.

The creatures, as a rule intoxicated by the wine of their prosperity, are not watchful, not even with respect to their own interests. Transcendent enjoyments give rise to drunkenness, watchful is he who cares for the interests of others, much less for his own.

Drinking destroys every virtue. It deadens good conduct, forcibly kills good reputation, banishes shame, and defiles the mind.

Kṣemendra has, as seen earlier, pointed out the reprehensible life of a householder who is required to follow the way of courageous enterprise, which is all opposed to the Law of the Buddha. He, therefore, advises to shun it by all means, as it is to the detriment of the Law. Happiness attached to the life of a householder is tainted with unrighteousness. One should abhor it like food besmeared with poison. Worldly pleasures attached to the life of a householder are attended by a great deal of discomfort in consequence of strife, quarrel, infatuation, and subject to losses of wealth. He is convinced that they can never yield satisfaction. Kṣemendra's sincere advice to a householder is to purify moral conduct, to earn the glory of a charitable giver and to direct one's mind to friendliness towards strangers just as they were one's kinsmen. He advises them to do one's duties with righteousness and an uninterrupted observance. He tells the people to avoid the company of those who are avoiders of virtues and asks them to frequent

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those who know how to foster virtues.[1] In his opinion love of virtue is to be roused gradually and attachment to vice is to be dissolved with constant effort.

It is ignorance which is vile and most cruel thing. It alone throws the miserable creatures into distress, deceiving them thoroughly with false hope of prosperity. Splendour of one's reputation is obscured by it, it further obscures love of virtues. Trustworthiness is destroyed by it. By its presence covetousness and other vices harbour the mind.

Evil deeds entail loss of reputation, censure by the virtuous, and moreover suffering, understanding thus, one must extirpate the evil within oneself, considering it as an adversary. He wants a person to gather meritorious actions, the instruments of glory and happiness, by munificent gifts, taking care to enhance their charm by distributing them at the right time and in a respectful manner. Moral conduct can be learnt by intercourse with virtuous persons. Succeeding in making one's dispositions towards all creatures as well-wishing as to oneself, a man attains the path of the Buddha. It is the lesson of the virtue of forbearance that enmities are appeased by means of friendliness. A pious man must show mercy to all living beings. Accomplished good actions are more successfully capable of banishing fear, grief, sadness and fatigue clinging to all existences of a man.

Gratitude is not at all to be wondered at in a gentleman, for this quality proceeds from his very nature.

Lack of mercy is to men the cause of greatest disturbance as it corrupts the action of their minds and words and bodies to such an extent that their doom is secure in this life and also the ones to follow. In Mercy is contained the whole of righteousness.

Forbearance, for Kṣemendra, is the chief ornament of a

1. AKL., Avādana 59, 159.

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powerful one ; for it betrays his cleverness in keeping the treasury of his virtues. It alone is a mine of virtues and an armour against virtues. Being a firm believer of the Karmic cycle, he advocates firmness in the belief that there is a world hereafter where good and evil Karma produce their fruit of happiness and mishap. Such a man will avoid evil actions and exert himself to cultivate pious ones. By absence of faith, a man follows his desires.[1]

Superhuman power is the result of meditation (dhyāna), spotless good conduct (śīla) and an excellent restraint of the senses. Practice of these are to be done in all existences so that they become essential elements of one's nature. No calamity befalls a man in the next world who has been constant in keeping the excellent restraint of senses and good conduct.

He alone on earth stands on his protective war-chariot, keeping worship of the pious as a charioteer, his own body engendering virtues as his chariot, friendliness as its axle, self-restraint and charity its wheels, and the earnest desire for gathering merit its axletree. Self-restraint will keep his chariot in order. In this manner alone the virtuous will parry even a hostile attack by counselling their enemy for his good, and they will do so without harshness in consequence of their being accustomed to forbearance.

From every word of his Avadānakalpalatā, Kṣemendra wishes to help those men lost in the wilderness, and cherishes to become by all his merit the Saviour of the world, of those creatures erring in the wilderness and swamps of Saṁsāra. By the good conduct (śīla), learning, charity, mercy, self-control, splendour, forbearance, wisdom, patience, humility, modesty, shame, judgement, loveliness, renown, civility, retentiveness, strength, pureness of mind which were cultivated by the Buddha in his past lives, he wishes all humanity to imbibe these for the welfare of all beings, all mankind.

1. AKL., Avadāna 54, 10.

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Appendix

(CONCORDANCE OF THE SUBHĀSITAS IN THE WORKS OF KSEMENDRA)

सदा खण्डनयोग्याय तुषपूर्णाशयाय च ।
नमोऽस्तु बहुबीजाय खलायोलूखलाय च ।। 1 ।।

समः शत्रौ च मित्रे च तथा मानापमानयोः ।
वृत्तिच्छेदकृताभ्यासः खलो निर्वाणदीक्षितः ।। 2 ।।

अहो वत खलः पुण्यैर्मूर्खोऽप्यश्रुतपण्डितः ।
स्वगुणोदीरणे शेषः परनिन्दासु वाक्पतिः ।। 3 ।।

खलः सुजनपैशुन्ये सर्वतोऽक्षिशिरोमुखः ।
सर्वतः श्रुतिमांल्लोके सर्वमावृत्य तिष्ठति ।। 4 ।।

लज्जाव्यसनसम्मोहहेतुना कामकारिणा ।
को नाम जघनेनेव खलेन न खलीकृतः ।। 5 ।।

खलो वक्त्येव सर्वस्य दोषं वक्ति खलस्य कः ।
दोषो मलिनवस्त्रस्य कदा केन विचार्यते ।। 6 ।।

खचित्रमपि मायावी रचयत्येव लीलया ।
लघुश्च महतां मध्ये तस्मात्खल इति स्मृतः ।। 7 ।।

खलेन धनमत्तेन नीचेन प्रभविष्णुना ।
पिशुनेन पदस्थेन हा प्रजे क्व गमिष्यसि ।। 8 ।।

भग्नदन्त इव व्यालः श्रेयान्मूर्खखलो वरम् ।
पक्षवानिव कृष्णाहिर्नत्वेव खलपण्डितः ।। 9 ।।

दूषणानुगतो नित्यं जनस्थानविनाशकृत् ।
दुर्मदो विबुधद्वेषी पुरुषादः खरः खलः ।। 10 ।।

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गुणान् स्तौतीत्यसम्बद्धं स्निह्यतीत्यसमञ्जसम् ।
ददातीति विरुद्धार्थं खलो हन्तीति नानृतम् ॥ 11 ॥

अनिशं जपता कर्णे मन्ये पैशुन्यमातृकाम ।
कृत्वेश्वरं वशे ग्रस्ताः खलेन निखिला दिशः ॥ 12 ॥

गुणिनां मानमालोक्य प्रयत्नं तद्विनाशने ।
जनः करोति न त्वात्मगुणाधानसमुद्यमे ॥ 13 ॥

नोपकारैर्न वा प्रीत्या निजतां याति दुर्जनः ॥ 14 ॥

वेश्या यशःपताकेव कान्ता कुसुमधन्वनः ॥ 15 ॥

बन्धुमित्रविरक्तानां स्वसुखक्षीबचेतसाम् ।
श्रीयुतानामिव नतिः स्त्रीजितानां मतिः कुतः ॥ 16 ॥

लोभः स्वभावो वेश्यानामौचित्यं जनरञ्जनम् ॥ 17 ॥

तेषामकार्यं किमिवास्ति येषां
क्रोधान्धरुद्धानि विलोचनानि ।
दयादरिद्राणि मनांसि नित्यं
नैर्घृण्यघोराणि च चेष्टितानि ॥ 18 ॥

कटुकौषधवद्वैद्यः पूर्वमार्तस्य संमतः ।
चिकित्सातुरः पश्चात्स्मृतोऽपि मुखकूणनम् ॥ 19 ॥

सिद्धार्थस्येव धनवान् उत्तीर्णस्येव नाविकः ।
निःशेषव्याधिमुक्तस्य वैद्यः कस्योपयुज्यते ॥ 20 ॥

सपादपतनैर्मानैरार्तैराध्यते परम् ।
पश्चात्स कीर्तिते नाम्नि स्वस्थैः फूत्क्रियते भिषक् ॥ 21 ॥

बन्धाल्लुब्धस्य हरिणश्चौरो राज्ञश्च निर्गतः ।
पुण्यैः स्वस्थश्च वैद्यस्य पुनः पतति गोचरे ॥ 22 ॥

यतेन्द्रियः पांसुशायी निस्संगः प्रसृतिपयः ।
कदर्यो मुनिरक्रुद्धः किन्तु तृष्णास्य वर्धते ॥ 23 ॥

नीरसस्य कदर्यस्य माधुर्यं वचने कथम् ।
गृहे लवणहीनस्य लावण्यं वदने कुतः ॥ 24 ॥

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कदर्यश्चर्मवसनो रूक्षोऽस्नानात्सदा जटी ।
मलेन श्यामलगलः शूली विलवणाशनात् ।। 25 ।।

कार्यपीडानिरोधेऽपि नार्थं मुञ्चति सग्रहः ।
संचयेष्वेकदृष्टिश्च कदर्यः शुक्रतां गतः ।। 26 ।।

कोऽन्यः कदर्यसदृशो दाता जगति जायते ।
नाश्नात्यदत्त्वा योऽर्थिभ्यो गले हस्तं गृहेऽर्गलम् ।।

कदर्यः स्वजनं दृष्ट्वा यदृच्छोपनतं गृहे ।
करोति दारकलहव्याजेनानशनव्रतम् ।। 28 ।।

कदर्यः कुशलप्रश्नं न करोति शृणोति वा ।
अभ्यागतस्य सायाह्ने पश्चाद्भोजनशंकया ।। 29 ।।

सत्य कृतार्थिकलहात्कदर्यादुत्तमः शवः ।
यः समौनो निरुच्छ्वासः क्रव्यादैरुपजीव्यते ।। 30 ।।

भट्टव्ययं निवार्यैव व्ययभीरोः करोत्यलम् ।
पुत्रकार्ये कदर्यस्य भार्या जारोत्सवव्ययम् ।। 31 ।।

चण्डालस्यापि साहाय्ये दृष्ट्वा लाभलवोद्गतिम् ।
चरणौ चूषति चिरं कदर्यः कार्यगौरवात् ।। 32 ।।

पश्चात्संशुद्धिमन्त्रासान्नित्यं समुदाहरन् ।
विषवद्वर्जयत्येव कदर्यः पानभोजनम् ।। 33 ।।

नैष्ठुर्यं नैरपेक्ष्यञ्च शाठ्यं क्रौर्यमनार्जवम् ।
कृतविस्मरणं यच्च तत्कदर्यस्य लक्षणम् ।। 34 ।।

वित्तव्ययवशाद्दोषामुपकारेऽपि वक्ति यः ।
कृतघ्नो गर्हितः सद्भिः स कदर्यो विचार्यताम् ।। 35 ।।

अचुल्लीपाकमस्मेरमसुखं निर्जनञ्च यत् ।
यदुत्सवकथाहीनं तत्कदर्यगृहं विदुः ।। 36 ।।

मन्दाग्निः पाण्डुरोगी च लालास्यश्चुल्ललोचनः ।
दुर्गन्धवदनो यश्च स कदर्योऽभिधीयते ।। 37 ।।

दन्ता ज्वरितमूत्राभा मुखं पक्वफलोपमम् ।
शुष्काशिनः कदर्यस्य शुष्कचर्मनिभं वपुः ।। 39 ।।

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विरमति मतिहीनो लाभलोभेन विक्षं ।
जरयति यतिरूपः संयमादिन्द्रियेच्छाम् ।
चरति च रतिविघ्नं सव्ययत्वाद्गृहिण्याः ।
स्वधननिधनरक्षाचार्यवर्यः कदर्यः ॥ 40 ॥

थूतकृतस्य जनैर्नित्यं निर्निद्रस्य निशास्वपि ।
उलूकस्येव लुब्धस्य न कल्याणाय दर्शनम् ॥ 41 ॥

पटी पितामहक्रीता तत्पूर्वाप्तश्च शाटकः ।
दिव्यवस्त्रस्य लुब्धस्य क्षीयते न युगैरपि ॥ 42 ॥

नष्टोत्सवस्य लुब्धस्य त्यक्तपुण्यदिनस्थितेः ।
अदृष्टलवणा भार्या प्रातिवेश्यैर्निमन्त्र्यते ॥ 43 ॥

मुष्टिमानेन दत्त्वापि लुब्धो धान्यं गृहव्यये ।
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मृतकाशौचमाचष्टे ज्वरण्याजं करोति वा ॥ 45 ॥

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विमुखः सौरभे रूपेऽलुब्धः सर्वेन्द्रियोज्झितः ॥ 46 ॥

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पादाभ्यामवगम्यते यदि पुनस्तेनैव सेवाधुना
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विदधति नृणामास्थां मिथ्यास्थिरस्थितिबन्धनीम् ।
स्वजनरहितः शेते गर्भे तथैव विपद्यते
विचरति सहासक्तैर्जन्तुः शुभाशुभकर्मभिः ।। 366 ।।

सर्वमविद्यामूलं संसारतरुप्रकारवैचित्र्यम् ।
ज्ञातुं वक्तुं हन्तुं कः शक्तोत्यन्यत्र सर्वज्ञात् ।। 367 ।।

अविद्यावासनैवेयं दुःखस्कन्धस्य भूयसः ।
संसारविषवृक्षस्य मूलबन्धविधायिनी ।। 368 ।।

क्रोधः संनिहितः प्रतप्तमनसामीर्ष्यावशात्कामिनां
क्रोधान्धा निपतन्ति तीव्रातिमिरश्वभ्रे मतिध्वंसिनः ।
तत्र क्रूरतरप्रकारनरकक्लेशात्प्रमूर्च्छाजुषा-
माकल्पक्षुरतल्पकल्पविषमक्षोणीक्षतानां क्षयः ।। 369 ।।

खलोत्कर्षेण सर्वस्य गुणग्लानिः प्रजायते ।
भवत्यभ्युदयायैव प्रभावस्तु महात्मनाम् ।। 370 ।।

विस्मितस्तत्प्रभावेण तमेव शरणं गतः ।
अनागामिफलाप्त्याभूत्सत्यदर्शननिर्वृतः ।। 371 ।।

तद्भागिनेयः शैलोऽपि तथैव विनयाश्रितः ।
अनागामिफलोदारं सत्यदर्शनमाप्तवान् ।। 372 ।।

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आसन्नपतनस्याथ चिन्तासंसक्तचेतसः ।
ईर्ष्यारुष्टेव प्रययौ तस्य दूरतरं धृतिः ॥ 373 ॥

अलङ्घ्यं नास्ति लोकेषु विपक्षमिति निश्चयः ।
तवापि जगतां पत्युर्यदिमाः क्लेशविप्लुषः ॥ 374 ॥

सर्वथा खलवैमुख्यादन्विष्यान्विष्य यत्नतः ।
महद्भिः सङ्गमिच्छन्ति गुणलुब्धा इवापदः ॥ 375 ॥

प्रभावविपुलोत्कर्षाः श्रूयन्ते श्रमणाः किल ।
युज्यन्ते कुशलैरेव येषां कुशलगामिनः ॥ 376 ॥

उपसर्पत्यकाले यः प्रविशत्यनिवेदितः ।
अनाशयज्ञः स सतामवमानस्य भाजनम् ॥ 377 ॥

ललितां तुम्बुरुसुतां ददौ पञ्चशिखाय सः ।
ऋणवत्कुरुते चिन्तामुपकारकणः सताम् ॥ 378 ॥

स्त्रीभिर्विमोहितमतेर्गृहराक्षसीभि-
र्वित्तप्रवृत्तमनसः सुखवाञ्छयैव ।

क्लेशाः पतन्ति पुरुषा पुरुषस्य देहे
गच्छन्ति नाम न विना प्रशमं शमं ये ॥ 379 ॥

तस्या ज्वरोऽयमेतिस्मिन्नरुचिः सुतरामभूत् ।
अभक्तरक्ताः संसक्तविरक्ता एव योषितः ॥ 380 ॥

वृद्धस्य तरुणीभोगः शरीरक्षयसूचकः ।
केशग्रहेण जरया वात्सल्येनेव वार्यते ॥ 381 ॥

किञ्चित् संकोचं कुटिलः प्रयाति स्थविरः शनैः ।
हारितं यौवनमर्णि वीक्षमाण इवावनौ ॥ 382 ॥

उद्योगद्वेषिणस्तीव्रमालस्यं यस्य वल्लभम् ।
बहुव्ययप्रवाहार्हं विवाहं स करोति किम् ॥ 383 ॥

यस्यालस्यादगृहपतिर्गृहकोणं न मुञ्चति ।
धनार्जनाय नियन्तु मुग्धास्तत्र किमङ्गनाः ॥ 384 ॥

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सोत्साहः पुरुषो यत्र व्यवहाररतिर्बहिः ।
गृहव्यापारसक्ता स्त्री सर्वास्तत्र सुसंपदः ॥ 385 ॥

अभूषणमनम्बरं मलिनकोणलीनाञ्जनं
विशीर्णशयनासनं स्फुटितवारिधानीघटम् ।
अदासमनुपस्करं चिरनिर्वृत्तमन्थरस्वनं
गृहं विरतकर्मणां भवति भग्नभोगोत्सवम् ॥ 386 ॥

अनर्थोपार्जितोऽप्यर्थः सामर्थ्येन सुखार्थिना ।
करोत्यनिच्छया धातुर्मरुवारिकणायितम् ॥ 387 ॥

तस्मादिहैव मे सद्यः पाशेनोद्बन्धनं हितम् ।
दारिद्र्योपद्रवक्रूरं स्त्रीशस्त्रं न सहे गृहम् ॥ 388 ॥

इति संचिन्त्य स लतापाशं कण्ठे न्यवेशयत् ।
तीव्रक्लेशविषाणानां निधनं बन्धुसंगमः ॥ 389 ॥

तस्य भार्याधनेनापि न जगामानुकूलताम् ।
परसंस्पर्शरागिण्यस्तुष्यन्त्यर्थेन न स्त्रियः ॥ 390 ॥

स कालेन महारम्भभोगेऽप्युद्विग्नमानसः ।
अचिन्तयदहो नास्ति संसारे तत्त्वतः सुखम् ॥ 391 ॥

दारिद्र्यतुल्यं किमिहास्ति दुःखं
धनार्जनं दुःखतरं ततोऽपि ।
धनोपभोगः सुखलेशदग्धः
पदे पदे दुःखशतानि सूते ॥ 392 ॥

त्यक्तः श्रीजनकः सुरासुरवरव्याकीर्णरत्नोत्करः
स स्वच्छः पयसां निधिः पृथुतरः शून्याशयेन त्वया ।
हे नीचोन्मुख शङ्ख मूर्ख कुपतेर्द्वारेऽधुना लम्बसे
तूष्णीमास्व खले न मत्कृतमुखस्तारं किमाक्रन्दसि ॥ 393 ॥

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व्यक्तस्य चञ्चलतया सहसैव लक्ष्म्या
रत्नाकरस्य न मनागपि हीनताभूत् ।

लक्ष्मीस्तु नीचखललुब्धगृहावसन्ना
नाद्यापि सत्पुरुषसंश्रयहर्षमेति ।। 394 ।।

नोद्वेगमायान्ति कदर्थ्यमानाः
शिखाग्रहेणापि हितं वदन्ति ।

परोपकारेषु हठप्रवृत्ताः
सन्तः सहन्ते भृशमात्मपीडाः ।। 395 ।।

इत्युक्तस्तेन मघवा विमनाः स्वपदं ययौ ।
विषयासक्तचित्तानां कुशलाभिरतिः कुतः ।। 396 ।।

अथामर्त्यपतिर्गत्वा सुप्रियं पुनरब्रवीत् ।
निजकार्याधिकोद्योगाः परकार्येषु साधवः ।। 397 ।।

इत्याकर्ण्यामरपतिर्ययौ म्लानमनोरथः ।
प्रयत्नोपनतं हीनपुण्यः पिबति नामृतम् ।। 398 ।।

कस्येदानीं वदनशशिनः संप्रवृत्ताः प्रवृद्ध-
ज्ञानालोकप्रसररुचिराः पुण्यपीयूषधाराः ।

लोकः शोकप्रशमसुहृदस्तीव्रतृष्णार्तबन्धो-
र्वाचस्तप्ते भवमरुतटे पास्यति श्रोत्रपात्रैः ।। 399 ।।

न चिन्तयत्यवसरं सर्वथैव यथा तथा ।
परव्यथानभिज्ञोऽयं स्वार्थमर्थयते जनः ।। 400 ।

दूरं प्रयान्ति दिनकृद्भ्रमनिर्गतानि
यानि क्षपाशबलितानि सदा दिनानि ।

एतानि तानि निपतत्पृथुकालचक्र-
संशातितानि शकलानि नृजीवितानाम् ।। 401 ।।

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दलन्त्येते शैला जलधिवलयः शुष्यति परं
सहोद्भूतैर्भूतैर्भुवनसरणिर्भ्रंश्यतितराम् ।
असारे संसारे चकितहरिणीलोचनचले
चिरस्थायी नायं बहुपरिचयः कायनिचयः ॥ 402 ॥

अचलचलनैर्मन्थक्लेशच्छटाममृताम्बुधिः
सुरगणकृते तां तां सेहे प्रसह्य महाशयः ।
विमलमनसां कायापायक्षणेऽप्यविकारिणां
परहितविधौ संबद्धानां व्ययापि सुखायते ॥ 403 ॥

विफलं सर्वमेवैतत्स्वभोगाय यदर्ज्यते ।
तदेव सफलं लोके यत्समर्पितमर्हते ॥ 404 ॥

दक्षिणा दक्षिणतया सत्पात्रप्रतिपादिता ।
असंख्यगुणतामेति सत्संगतिरिवाक्षया ॥ 405 ॥

लोकः किं परलोकधीः प्रकुरुते पुत्राय मिथ्यास्पृहां
तत्पुण्यं क्रियते स्वयं यदुचितं नान्यैः कृतं भुज्यते ।
पुत्रस्तद्विदधाति कश्चिदसमक्रूरक्रियाकोविदः
पापाद्येन निपातभग्नवदनः सीदत्यशेषान्वयः ॥ 406 ॥

चरन्तः संसारव्यसनगहनेऽस्मिन्नरमृगा
भृशं भोगव्यग्रा निखिलसुखशस्यप्रणयिनः ।
विनाशव्यापारस्मरशबरपाशे निपतिता
लभन्ते पर्यन्ते विषयशितशस्त्रैर्विशसनम् ॥ 407 ॥

अथ मातुः शिरश्छित्वा खड्गेन स ययौ जवात् ।
रागोपदिष्ट पापानां किमकार्यं दुरात्मनाम् ॥ 408 ॥

दीर्घोपभोगचलित व्यसनस्य काले
पापप्रदोषतिमिरोपरमे जनस्य ।
इत्यातनोति विमला सुकृत प्रभाव-
वेलाविशालकुशलातिशयप्रकाशम् ॥ 409 ॥

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कर्मपाशसमाकर्षविवशैः समवाप्यत ।
अनिच्छयैव सुकृतं दुष्कृतं वा शरीरिभिः ।। 410 ।।

शास्त्रं धर्मप्रवृत्तानां रोगार्तानां चिकित्सकः ।
वर्णाश्रमगुरुर्नेता नृपतिः पापकर्मणाम् ।। 411 ।।

दण्डमेवार्थये राजन् सुविचार्य विधीयताम् ।
पूयते पावकेनेव राजदण्डेन किल्विषम् ।। 412 ।।

दिवि भुवि फणिलोके शैशवे यौवने वा
जरसि निधनकाले गर्भशय्याश्रये वा

सहगमनसहिष्णोः सर्वथा देहभाजां
न हि भवति विनाशः कर्मणः प्राक्तनस्य ।। 413 ।।

औचित्येन करोति यः सुमनसामानन्दसान्द्रं मनः
क्रूराणामपि शीर्यते परिचितं यस्यानुभावोत्तमः ।

एकः कोऽपि स जायते जितजगन्नाथप्रभावोद्भवः
पुण्यं यस्य न याति मानकलनां निःसंख्यसंख्यापदैः ।। 414 ।।

ये रागरोगं नयनानुबन्धं
विद्वेषशूलं हृदयप्रसक्तम् ।

सर्वाङ्गसंसर्पितमापकुष्ठं
हरन्ति तेभ्योऽस्तु नमो भिषग्भ्यः ।। 415 ।।

विपरीतस्वभावोऽयं विपाकः पुण्यकर्मणाम् ।
स्वस्थानामशनं नास्ति श्रीमतां रोगसंगतिः ।। 416 ।।

निरंशोऽहं भविष्यामि ध्वस्तः सर्वजनोज्झितः ।
विजने निधनं श्लाघ्यं नावधूतस्य जीवितम् ।। 417 ।।

क्षणक्षयिसुखाक्षिप्ताः पापं कृत्वा क्षयेष्वहो ।
क्षिपन्ति दुःखेष्वात्मानमसमीक्षितकारिणः ।। 418 ।।

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वन्दन्ते स्थविरक्रमेण नियतं ये धर्मशिक्षाविदः
पूज्यान् पूज्यगुणाः प्रणामविनयैस्ते प्राप्नुवन्त्युन्नतिम् ।

दर्पानुद्धतया विशृङ्खलधिया मोहादधः पातिनां
ज्येष्ठातिक्रमिणामयं स च परो लोकः सशोकः सदा ॥ 419 ॥

यत्सार्पं परिसर्पि दर्पविषमं क्रूरं च यन्मारकं
यच्चात्युत्कटकालकूटविकटाटोपस्थिरस्थावरम् ।

यान्यन्यानि चितानि दुःसहविषाण्येकीकृतानि स्फुटं
वाक्पारुष्यविषस्य तैक्ष्ण्यतुलया नायान्ति लेशोपमाम् ॥ 420 ॥

उत्तंसतामुपगतं सुगतव्रतस्य
सत्त्वश्रियः शुचितया तिलकायमानम् ।

सर्वात्मना सुचिरताभरणस्य पुंसः
शीलोपमं न हि विभूषणमस्ति किंचित् ॥ 421 ॥

विशामि पावकं दीप्तं रागाग्निं न त्वपावकम् ।
पुंसां मदनदग्धानां दाहो जन्मशतानुगः ॥ 422 ॥

वाक्पारुष्येण महता कलहे भिक्षुणीगणः ।
ताभ्यामुद्वेजितस्तत्र स्वभावः किल दुस्त्यजः ॥ 423 ॥

रूपं शीलविभूषणं शुचियशश्चन्द्रावदातं कुलं
चेतः पक्वविवेकनिर्मलतरं संसारवामः शमः ।

एतत्पुण्यमहोदयस्य कृतिनां दृष्टिक्षमं लक्षणं
जातिर्निन्द्यतमा मनश्च मलिनं दुष्कर्मचिह्नं नृणाम् ॥ 424 ॥

दृष्ट्या तीव्रतरं हरन्ति नियमं नैव क्षमन्ते शमं
कर्म क्षिप्रमनोरमं हिमसमं पर्यन्तदाहक्षमम् ।

एता बिभ्रति सर्वमेव विषमं स्वप्नोपमं विभ्रमं
त्यक्त्वा कार्यभियः प्रवर्तनधियः संसारसख्यः स्त्रियः ॥ 425 ॥

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सर्वः प्रणश्यति पयोमुचशब्दमात्र-
संत्रासलुप्तधृतिबन्धन एव हंसः ।

ते सन्ति केऽपि कमलासनराजहंसा
ये पुष्कराभ्रगुरुगर्जितनिष्प्रकम्पः ।। 426 ।।

इति स्थितमुखः सर्वः परस्परविलोकनैः ।
वदत्यन्यगुणग्लानिगणनानिपुणो जनः ।। 427 ।।

ये निष्पन्नविवेकपापकलनानिःशेषिताशालता-
स्तेनायान्ति पुनः पुराणविषयास्वादस्मृतेर्वश्यताम् ।

येत्वर्थप्रतिषिद्धगर्वशिथिलत्यक्तप्रसक्तादरा-
स्तेषामन्तरसीम्नि कामसमयो दोलायमानं मनः ।। 428 ।।

जन्माभ्यासनिषक्त एष विषयस्पर्शाभिलाषः परं
विद्वांसोऽपि परित्यजन्ति नियमं येनावटे पातिताः ।

रागोदग्रविषा विशन्ति विषमध्वान्तां भुवं भोगिनः
कामः कस्य करोति कीर्णविशिखासारे विकारे क्षमाम् ।। 429 ।।

न मन्त्रैरुत्सार्यं न च रूचिमयैः शास्त्रमणिभि-
र्न योगैर्न ध्यानैर्न च शमविशेषौषधिरसैः ।

मुहुर्मूर्च्छामोहप्रणयमयमालिङ्गनविधौ
भुजंगीनां नूनं विषमविषमङ्गे निवसति ।। 430 ।।

पापापह्नववैचित्र्यप्रत्युत्पन्नगिरः परम् ।
मायामये विनिमये बृहस्पतिधियः स्त्रियः ।। 431 ।।

विसंस्थास्थिस्थूणः प्रकटदशनश्रेणिविकटः
प्रनष्टः कायोऽयं कृमिकुलचितच्छिद्रनलकः ।

इमास्ताः सापायाः प्रलयभयमायाप्रणयिणां
नृणां रोहत्स्नेहाः सरसविषयास्वादनभुवः ।। 432 ।।

अर्थार्थी स जगामाब्धिं पत्नीन्यस्तगृहस्थितिः ।
धनेन धनिनां तृष्णा लवणेनेव वर्धते ।। 433 ।।

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नाधिकारैर्न सत्कारैर्नालंकारैर्न भोजनैः ।
विना पुरुषसंभोगं भजन्ते ललनाः सुखम् ॥ 434 ॥

कुलकूलद्वयाबद्धा बन्धुबन्धनयन्त्रणाम् ।
न सहन्ते तरंगिण्यो रतिशीला हि योषितः ॥ 435 ॥

न न नेति समुत्कम्पिरसनांशुककर्षणे ।
गच्छामि मुञ्च मुञ्चेति क्वणन्ती कस्य नेप्सिता ॥ 436 ॥

बालस्यापि तुषाररश्मिरुचिरं संचिन्तयन्त्याः स्मितं
म्लायन्त्याः सहसा निमीलिततनोः पद्माननायाः परम् ।
गेहान्तः स्वकथां मिथः कथयतामाकर्णयन्त्या बहिः
स्वैरिण्यास्तृणपल्लवेऽपि वलिते साशङ्कशङ्कं मनः ॥ 437 ॥

इति धात्रीवचः श्रुत्वा सापि युक्तममन्यत् ।
तीव्ररागप्रकारान्धः पापपातं न पश्यति ॥ 438 ॥

अर्हद्भिक्षुवधेऽप्यस्य नाकम्पत मनाङ्मनः ।
नृशंसाः पातकैर्यान्ति वज्रादपि कठोरताम् ॥ 439 ॥

घर्माद्रिशृङ्गाग्रपरिच्युतानामधोमुखानामतटावटेषु ।
बहुभ्रमच्चभ्रशताहतानां भवत्यलं पातपरंपरैव ॥ 440 ॥

इति परिचितैर्भोगाभ्यासैः स्मरः परिवर्धते
किमपि भजते लोभः प्रौढ़िं प्रवृद्धधनोदयैः ।
लवणसलिलापानैस्तृष्णा प्रयात्यतितीव्रतां
ज्वलति विपुलज्वालोऽगाधैर्जलैर्वडवानलः ॥ 441 ॥

मनः शुद्धिविधानेन दानेनातिलघीयसा ।
भवन्त्यलङ्घ्याः संकल्पैः संपदः सत्त्वशालिनाम् ॥ 442 ॥

सर्वज्ञेनेति कथितं श्रुत्वा सपदि भिक्षवः ।
मेनिरे चित्तवैमूल्यमूलां दानफलश्रियम् ॥ 443 ॥

हेलार्पितं रत्नवनं तृणाग्रं श्रद्धावितीर्णं तृणमप्यनर्घ्यम् ।
अनेकशोभानुभवं न वित्तं चित्तं निमित्तं शुभसंभावानाम् ॥ 444 ॥

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सुभाषितं सत्यपथप्रकाशनं करोत्यनालोकपदे सुदीपवत् ।
सदोपकारादत एव वल्लभं विवेकचर्यासु महात्मनामपि ।। 445 ।।

अनित्याः संसारास्तरलतरविद्युद्द्युतिनिभाः ।
समुत्पन्नोत्पन्नप्रलयपरिणामप्रणयिनः ।। 446 ।।

माधुर्यधुर्याणि रसोचितानि
संचार्यमाणानि सुभाषितानि ।

नैव क्षुधं न क्षपयन्ति तृष्णा—
मेतानि तृप्तस्य सुखप्रदानि ।। 447 ।।

श्रुतं गीतं काव्यं श्रमपरिचयः कौतुकविधिः
मणिज्ञानं भूतग्रहगदविषोन्मादशमनम् ।

नृणां भूमृत्सेवा जलधितरणं हेमकरणं
तदेतत्पर्यन्ते गणितमखिलं भोजनफलम् ।। 448 ।।

गच्छामि याचितुं कंचित् त्वत्समीपे करोमि किम् ।
क्रीडाकथाश्च शोभन्ते तुल्याहारविहारयोः ।। 449 ।।

अनित्याः संसारास्तरलतरविद्युद्द्युतिनिभाः
समुत्पन्नोत्पन्नप्रलयपरिणामप्रणयिनः ।

तदुत्थैर्जन्तूनां भ्रमणपरिवर्तैः श्रमवतां
निरोधाद्विश्रान्तिं दिशति विवशानामुपशमः ।। 450 ।।

गुरूणामप्यग्रे गुरुतरपदे सैव महती
सदा सद्भिः पूज्या त्रिदशतटिनीपावनतनुः ।
धरित्री भूतानां सकलरससारप्रसविनी
शरीरं पुष्णाति प्रणयमिव माता न वसुधा ।। 451 ।।

पितरौ परमं ब्रह्म जङ्गमः पुण्यसंगमः ।
कुलानि तानि धन्यानि येषां धर्मस्तदर्चनम् ।। 452 ।।

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सत्योपमं नास्ति तपस्त्रिलोके
न क्वाप्यहिंसासदृशोऽस्ति धर्मः ।
गुरुर्गरीयान्न पितुः परोऽस्ति
मातुः परं दैवतमस्ति नान्यत् ।। 453 ।।

सेवितं प्रसभभक्तिनिर्भरैः
पादपुष्करयुगं गुरोर्न यैः ।
ते परं जलरुचैव केवलं
सर्वतीर्थगमनेऽपि निष्फलाः ।। 454 ।।

सेव्यः सुखैरविमुखः सततं क्षमाभूः
तीव्रव्रतादिनियमैरवितीर्णशोषः ।
अल्पेऽप्यनल्पफलदः प्रणयोपचारे
मातुः पितुश्च न समोऽस्ति गुरुस्तृतीयः ।। 455 ।।

आचार्यः सुकृतार्थदेशिकतया कैर्नाभिवन्द्यः सदा ।
प्राणानां जनकः कथं न जनकः पूज्यो गुरूणां गुरुः ।
तत्रापि क्षणगर्भधारणभरक्लेशस्य मातुः परं
केनानृण्यविधानपुण्यनिचयेनासाद्यते निर्वृतिः ।। 456 ।।

मातुर्निकारकणमप्यविवेकपाक-
संप्राप्तपातकुशलः किल यः करोति ।
तस्य ज्वलज्ज्वलनजालशिखाकलापः
पापव्रते भवति मूर्ध्नि जटाकटप्रः ।। 457 ।।

पीयूषं स्खलितार्धवर्णललितालापैः शिशुर्वर्षति
प्रीतिं स्फीततरां मनोरथशतैर्धत्ते विनेयस्ततः ।
पश्चादुत्कटयौवनोष्मविकटाहंकारवादी पटुः
दुष्पुत्रः स्फुटकालकूटकटुकः कष्टां करोति व्यथाम् ।। 458 ।।

विपदः सुखपर्यन्ताः क्लेशप्राप्ताश्च संपदः ।
अवर्तिन्यो भवन्त्येव पर्यायेण शरीरिणाम् ।। 459 ।।

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कामं नियमवामस्य स्वाधीनानभिलाषिण: ।
प्रायेण वर्धते जन्तोर्निषेधेनाधिकादर: ।। 460 ।।

त्यक्त्वा पुराणि मणिमन्दिरसुन्दराणि
तान्यप्सर:सरसभोगमनोहराणि ।
कृष्ट: प्रकृष्टतरपातकभोग्यकाले
कालेन कल्पितफला किल कर्मवल्ली ।। 461 ।।

सूनामिव क्षितिमिमां पशुरागतोऽस्मि
कर्षत्यलं बलवती भवितव्यतैव ।
कृष्टस्तयैव च विशत्यवशो मनुष्य:
यत्रास्य तिष्ठति पुर: परिपाकभोग्या ।। 462 ।।

परार्थे धारयिष्यामि चक्रं भुक्त्वा निजं फलम् ।
परव्यथां विजानाति न जन: स्वव्यथां विना ।। 463 ।।

तापं पल्लविता निहन्ति तनुते शुभ्रं यश: पुष्पिता
सद्य: सौरभभव्यभोगसुभगा लक्ष्मीं विधत्ते पुन: ।
कारुण्यार्द्रतया यदेव हृदये सद्भि: समारोपिता
सत्संकल्पलता सदैव सरसं किं किं न सूते फलम् ।। 464 ।।

माता मङ्गलमालिका गुणमयी वात्सल्यमौलि: पिता
तौ येषां शिरसि प्रियाय कुरुत: पादाम्बुजारोपणम् ।
सर्वाशापरिपूरणोद्यतयश: संपत्प्रकाशोदया-
स्ते पुण्याभरणा: प्रयान्ति जगतां नित्योत्सवा: पूज्यताम् ।। 465 ।।

श्लाघ्या जयन्ति जिनभक्तिविशेषभाजां
सूद्धासुधाप्रसरनिर्झरशीकरास्ते ।
निश्चेतनोऽप्युचितचेतनतामिवैति
य: पूज्यपूजनविधौ कुसुमादिवर्ग: ।। 466 ।।

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केशोन्मूलनकर्मणैव निर्णितं नैर्घृण्यमावेदितं
कौपीनांशुकवर्जनेन सुजने शीलस्य वार्तैव का ।
दम्भारम्भभयंकरे च वदने क्रोधः स्वयं लक्ष्यते
नग्नानामशनैषिणां नियमिनामेषां पशूनामिव ।। 467 ।।

ध्यानाधीनः स्तिमितनयनः पूर्णलावण्यसिन्धुः
नासावंशं विपुलसरलं सेतुभूतं दधानः ।
भूषाशून्यप्रसृतरुचिमत्कर्णपाशाभिरामः
कान्त्यैवासौ किमपि विदुषां शान्तिमन्तस्तनोति ।। 468 ।।

शिरसि सहजप्राज्यालोकप्रसेकमयं मणिं
करिपतिकराकारौ बाहू कवत्कनकद्युतिः ।
करतलगतां लेखां शङ्खध्वजाम्बुजमालिकां
शमयममहासाम्राज्याहं बिभर्ति स लक्षणम् ।। 469 ।।

तस्याभिलाषजनकस्य महामुनीनां
सर्वाभिलाषकलनारहितः स्वभावः ।
निःशेषितस्मृतिभुवः प्रमदाश्रयस्य
रागोज्झितस्य सुतरामधरः सरागः ।। 470 ।।

मूर्तिर्निभरसंगमप्रणयिनी मैत्री मनःशायिनी
क्षान्तिस्तन्मयकारिणी हृदि दया गाढं समाश्लेषिणी ।
सर्वाशाभरणस्य भूरिदयितासक्तस्य संलक्ष्यते
तस्यापूर्वमणेरनन्यमहिमा वैराग्यगर्भः शमः ।। 471 ।।

त्वत्पादपद्मयुगलं शरणं प्रपन्नां
दूरस्थितामपि दृशा स्पृश मां दयालो ।
वात्सल्यपेशलधियां महतां प्रवास-
दूरीकृतेषु करुणा न तनुत्वमेति ।। 472 ।।

इत्युक्तः स्थविरस्तेन वैलक्ष्यविनताननः ।
अचिन्तयत्स्ववर्गाग्रे न्यूनभावो हि दुःसहः ।। 473 ।।

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पुंसां सत्कुलभूतये बलवती मिथ्यैव पुत्रस्पृहा
सूनुश्चेदगुणस्तदेव विकलं तत्किं न सर्वं कुलम् ।

सा कन्या किल जायते गुणवती पुण्यप्रभावाद्यया
संसारोरुसरित्पतौ कुलयुगं नावेव संतार्यते ।। 474 ।।

तरलतरतरंगोद्गारगम्भीरतोये
दधति जगति केचित्तप्ततां भग्नभाग्याः ।

खरमरुपरितापे केचिदुत्सक्तपुण्याः
सहजसलिलसारैस्तीव्रतृष्णां त्यजन्ति ।। 475 ।।

संसारमरुपरिभ्रमतृष्णातापं त्यजति जिनसेवा ।
सुखविमलसलिलां कलितांशमहिमकल्लोलिनीं प्राप्य ।। 476 ।।

मातुःपितुश्च नियमेन भवन्ति योग्याः
श्वभ्रे पतन्त्यविनये तदुपेक्षयैव ।

पूर्वोदितस्वजनवासनयैव विद्धा
बालास्तिला इव परप्रकृतिं भजन्ते ।। 477 ।।

यदभुज्यते परधनेन निपीयते यत्
सौख्याशया विषमवर्त्म विगाह्यते यत् ।

तस्याविचाररमणीयसुखोदरस्य
प्राणावसानपणदारुण एव पाकः ।। 478 ।।

संजायते विषयपानमदाकुलानां
यश्चौर्यदाहवधलब्धधनेन रागः ।

निर्यात्यसौ परिणतः करपादपात-
शूलाधिरोहणपरिस्रुतरक्तपूरैः ।। 479 ।।

अमृतरसवृष्टिरिष्टा दृष्टिरनिष्टापहा सतां जयति ।
पतितेव पतितमपि या कुरुते पुण्योन्नतिं श्लाघ्याम् ।। 480 ।।

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ह्लादः शशाङ्कस्य रवेः प्रकाशः
तापः कृशानोः पवनस्य वेगः ।
परोपकारः करुणारतानां
महाजनानां सहजः स्वभावः ॥ 481 ॥

अखिलसुखकुशलदूती भवमरुसंतापशीतलच्छाया ।
जयति जननीव जननी करुणामृतवाहिनी शास्तुः ॥ 482 ॥

विद्वेषदोषविषदूषितमानसानां
यत्साधुबाधनविधौ निशितः प्रयत्नः ।
स्याच्चेत्तदुज्ज्वलगुणानुकृतौ स एव
तत्को भवेत्पृथुपराभववान् भवेऽस्मिन् ॥ 483 ॥

निशितान्यपि शस्त्राणि श्रयन्ते यत्सुमार्दवम् ।
विद्वेषविषदिग्धानि न तु चित्तानि पापिनाम् ॥ 484 ॥

अक्षोभविभ्रमसुखं शममाश्रितानि
पुण्यक्षमासलिलनिर्मलशीतलानि ।
नो मानसानि महतामहितप्रवृत्त-
दुर्वृत्तिमन्युरजसा कलुषीभवन्ति ॥ 485 ॥

येषां निर्मलशीतशीतलजला सत्वाशयाश्वासिनी
नित्यं वैररजःप्रमार्जननदी क्षान्तिः स्थिता चेतसि ।
दुर्वारारिनिकारकोपदहनज्वालावलीविप्लव-
प्लावोद्भूतपृथुव्यथापरिचितां नायान्ति ते विक्रियाम् ॥ 486 ॥

अत्युन्नतेषु शिखरेषु कुलाचलानां
निम्नेषु चाशुचिचयावकरोत्करेषु ।
आलोक एष निपतत्यविशेषवृत्त्या
तुल्योपकारमहिमा दिननायकस्य ॥ 487 ॥

अल्पस्यानल्पविभवं नवोत्साहासहः परम् ।
करोति लज्जाजननं जनो जन्मप्रकाशनम् ॥ 488 ॥

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अविरतपरहितमनसां कोऽपि स समत्वविकाशः ।
तनुरपि तनुतृणतुलया दत्तो यत्र विलासः ॥ 489 ॥

कल्पः सर्वजनप्रियः सततमासक्तप्रकाशोदयः
श्लाघ्यो वासर एष यस्य जननी पूज्या प्रभातद्युतिः ।
यश्चाग्रे जनकस्य चण्डमहसः पादोपसेवाधृतिः
लोकेऽस्मिन्नपरत्र वा तदनुगः स्पृष्टस्तमोभिः क्वचित् ॥ 490 ॥

धर्मोऽप्यधर्मत्वमुपैति तेषां
ज्ञानद्युतिर्व्यामिलतां प्रयाति ।
समस्तपुण्यप्रथमावतरौ
न पूजितौ यैः पितरौ सदैव ॥ 491 ॥

सुखाय दुःखाय गुणोदयाय
दोषाय शापाय वधाय काले ।
कर्माण्यसंभ्रान्तफलानि जन्तोः
स्वयं कृतान्येव भवे भवन्ति ॥ 492 ॥

सन्मार्गेण शनैर्व्रजन्निपतितः प्राप्तोऽतिभङ्गं तनो-
र्यः श्वभ्रेषु परिभ्रमोत्पथगतेर्धावन् विशत्यक्षतः ।
यत्सीदत्यसकृत्प्रयत्नचतुरः श्रीसंश्रयश्चालसः
तद्वैचित्र्यमभित्तिचित्ररचनं सर्वात्मना कर्मणाम् ॥ 493 ॥

दानेन दीनजनताव्यसनानि हन्ति
शीलेन तोषयति सज्जनमानसानि ।
प्रज्ञाबलेन च हरत्यविवेकमोहं
वीर्येण वारयति भीरुभयानि धीरः ॥ 494 ॥

तारहारवरवस्त्रशेखर-
च्छत्रचामरसितस्मिताः श्रियः ।
दिव्यभोगसुभगाः सुखोत्सवैः
सूचयन्ति सुकृतं महात्मनाम् ॥ 495 ॥

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दुर्मतिर्दुर्मतिर्नाम मन्त्री तस्य विरक्तताम् ।
प्रययौ गुणविद्वेषः स्वभावो हि दुरात्मानाम् ।। 496 ।।

यद्विस्मयावहमहो विभवप्रभाव-
दिव्योपभोगसुभगं भुवनाधिपत्यम् ।
दीर्घामयाश्रयघनव्यसनावसन्न-
संवाहनोद्धरणपुण्यविजृम्भितं तत् ।। 497 ।।

सन्मार्गसंभृतमनोरथसिद्धिसूतः
श्लाघ्यः सतां सुकृतनिर्मलतीर्थ्यपूतः ।
संसारघोरमकराकर सेतुभूतः
सत्सङ्ग एव शुभसर्गनिसर्गहेतुः ।। 498 ।।

स्त्रीशृङ्खलामुखरदुःसहपुत्रपाश-
भृत्याकुला निबिडबान्धववन्धजालम् ।
त्यक्तं पुनः स्पृशति कः खलसंघघोरं
धीमान् गृहं कुमतिबन्धमहान्धकारम् ।। 499 ।।

विदधति मुहुर्मोहं नानावियोगघनाः शुचो
द्रविणलवणाहारैस्तृष्णां परं परिवर्धते ।
विषमविषयस्नेहाम्भासैर्जडीकृतचेतसां
व्रजति कुशलं क्लेशक्षेत्रे क्षये वसतां क्षयम् ।। 500 ।।

न धीर्मदविघूर्णिता विषयभोगरागासवै-
र्न वाष्पकलिलाः दृशः प्रियवियोगधूमोद्गमैः ।
न दाहनिवहव्यथाः कलहकोपतापोद्भवै-
र्भवन्ति विजने वने शमविशेषसंतोषिणाम् ।। 501 ।।

ग्रामस्पृहा वनोद्वगाद्ग्रामोद्वेगाद्वनस्मृतिः ।
पुंसां प्रशमवैमुख्यात्प्रसङ्गेनैव जायते ।। 502 ।।

अविकलफलप्रसवः शुभचरितैः सहवासः ।
दिनपतिपरिचयनिचितरुचेः श्रीरसमा हिममासः ।। 503 ।।

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क्रौर्येण ये द्विरसनाः शुचिचेष्टितानां
मिथ्यापवादविषयं विषमुत्सृजन्ति ।
ते पापशापपरितापपरंपरार्ताः
तीव्रव्यलीकतिमिरं विवरं विशन्ति ॥ 504 ॥

सुखं दुःखत्वमायाति शुक्लमप्येति कालताम् ।
विधौ विधुरतां याते धर्मोऽप्यायात्यधर्मताम् ॥ 505 ॥

मिथ्यापापप्रकटनं जनकोपः पदच्युतिः ।
अपुण्यपरिपाकाणामेतत्प्रत्यक्षलक्षणम् ॥ 506 ॥

दोषः समुन्मिषति यात्यगुणः प्रकाशं
कार्यं विपर्ययमुपैति विशीर्यते धीः ।
पुंसां पुरा विहितदुष्कृतपाककाले
के के न नाम निपतन्ति महाभिघाताः ॥ 507 ॥

दोषे गुणातिशयमाशु गुणेऽपि दोषं
पीयूषधाम्नि विषमप्यमृतं विषे च ।
संदर्शयत्यनिशमद्भुतरूपमेव
कालेन्द्रजालिकवधूर्भवितव्यतेयम् ॥ 508 ॥

निर्दोषः क्लेशमश्नाति जृम्भते गुप्तपातकः ।
कः कस्य शुद्धिं जानाति चित्राकारेष्वसाक्षिषु ॥ 509 ॥

अहो ग्रावाग्रलिखिता निश्चला कर्मसंततिः ।
प्राप्ताभिज्ञोऽपि यत्प्राप क्रूरक्लेशकदर्थनाम् ॥ 510 ॥

यत्सोत्कण्ठतयेव सर्वविपदः कुर्वन्ति कण्ठग्रहं
सर्वाङ्गप्रसभोपभोगसुभगाः क्लिश्यन्ति यत्संपदः ।
यत्स्वाच्छन्द्यसुखास्पदं विरहणं दीर्घं च यद्बन्धनं
तत्पुंसां निजकर्मपाकशबलं संसारवल्लीफलम् ॥ 511 ॥

असत्यदोषेण विशेषयुक्त्या
प्रत्यक्षलक्षीकृतलक्षणेन ।
अलंकृतः साधुजनः खलेन
किं वक्ति विक्रीत इवान्यदेशे ॥ 512 ॥

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विजीगीषव इव तरसा दुःसहमंसाररिपुबलं हत्वा ।
आसादयन्ति धीराः प्राज्यं सद्धर्मसाम्राज्यम् ।। 513 ।।

कन्याविहीनाणि कुलानि पुण्यै-
भंवन्ति मान्यान्यभिमानभाजाम् ।
अयाच्ययाञ्चैव सुखं क्षणेन
कुलं हि कन्या मलिनीकरोति ।। 514 ।।

उत्साहादुपविश्य सत्त्वरुचिरे सद्धर्मसिंहासने
शीलोष्णीषवता विवेकसलिलप्राप्ताभिषेकश्रिया ।
हत्वा शत्रुपरंपरां पृथुभवक्लेशावलीमक्षयां
सा लब्धप्रशमेन विश्वजयिना निर्वाणभूर्भुज्यते ।। 515 ।।

गुणे स्पृहा न द्रविणे कदाचित्
योगेऽभियोगः प्रसभं न भोगे ।
पुण्योज्ज्वलानां विशदाशयानां
रजोविरागाभिरतिर्न कामे ।। 516 ।।

रत्नैः किमश्मगुरुभिः प्रयत्नशतसंचितैः ।
सन्मार्गालोकने रत्नं तद्विधं तु सुभाषितम् ।। 517 ।।

यद्यत्किंचित्सुखमनुपमं बाह्यमाभ्यन्तरं वा
यो यः सत्त्वप्रसवविलसद्विस्मयः सिद्धियोगः ।
ये ये तृष्णाप्रशमविमलाः संततानन्दलाभाः
पाकोत्सिक्तः समफलभरः पुण्यकल्पद्रुमस्य ।। 518 ।।

वैमल्योपचितां रुचिं रचयतः सन्मार्गदीपोपमां
भव्यानां हृदये सुभाषितमणेर्गाढं गुणालम्बिनः ।
पाकोत्तीर्णसुवर्णसुन्दरपदप्राप्तप्रबन्धस्थितेः
मूल्यं सागरमेखला वसुमती पादांशकेऽप्यल्पकम् ।। 519 ।।

आद्यः कन्दः कुशलनलिनीमूलबन्धप्रसूते-
र्नानासंपन्नवनवलतासंभवोद्यानभूमिः ।
तृष्णातापप्रशमनहिमस्मेरगङ्गाप्रवाहः
सन्मार्गाग्रप्रकटनपटुः पुण्यमेव प्रकाशः ।। 520 ।।

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ॐकारात्कुटिलत्वमेव परमं यैः शिक्षितं लीलया
यस्य (येषां) स्वस्तिपदं कदाचिदपि न स्पष्टं मुखान्निर्गतम् ।
क्रोधाध्माततया विवर्णवदनास्तीव्रापराधोपमं
ते विद्यानिधयः कथं पृथुकथं काव्यं क्षमन्ते खलाः ।। 521 ।।

कौबेरं धनमखिलं हृत्वा यातेऽथ दानवाचार्ये ।
सुचिरं धनाधिनाथः शुशोच विज्ञाय तां मायाम् ।। 522 ।।

हस्तन्यस्तललाटः सह शङ्खमुकुन्दकुन्दपद्माद्यैः ।
संचिन्त्य शुक्रविकृतिं स जगादोष्णं विनिःश्वस्य ।। 523 ।।

सुहृदा मर्मज्ञेन व्याजान्मायाविनातिलुब्धेन ।
धूर्तेन वञ्चितोऽहं दैत्याश्रयदुर्जयेन शुक्रेण ।। 524 ।।

अधुना द्रव्यविहीनः क्षणेन तृणलाघवं प्राप्तः ।
कथयामि कस्य दुःखं करोमि किं वा क्व गच्छामि ।। 525 ।।

धनरहितं त्यजति जनो जनरहितं परिभवाः समायान्ति ।
परिभूतस्य शरीरे व्यसनविकारो महाभारः ।। 526 ।।

दयितेषु शरीरवतां बत धर्मलतालवालेषु ।
द्रविणेषु जीवितेषु च सर्वं याति प्रयातेषु ।। 527 ।।

विद्वान्सुभगो मानी विश्रुतकर्मा कुलोन्नतः शूरः ।
वित्तेन भवति सर्वो वित्तविहीनस्तु सद्गुणोऽप्यगुणः ।। 528 ।।

कस्य न दयितं वित्तं चितं ह्रियते न कस्य वित्तेन ।
किं तु यशोधनलुब्धा वाञ्छन्ति न दुष्कृतैरर्थान् ।। 529 ।।

वित्तं जीवितमग्र्यं जीवितहानिर्धनत्यागः ।। 530 ।।

दीर्घव्यसननिरुद्धो भ्रूभङ्गज्ञो विधेयतां यातः ।
विषयविवशो मनुष्यः केलिशिखण्डीव नर्त्यते स्त्रीभिः ।। 531 ।।

बहुविधतरुणनिरर्गलसंभोगसुखार्थभोगिनी वेश्या ।
धन्येति वदन्ति सदा सोच्छ्वासा निर्जने नार्यः ।। 532 ।।

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पुण्यफलप्राप्यानां हृतपररजसां स्वभावविमलानाम् ।
तीर्थानामिव महतां नहि नाम समागमो विफलः ।। 533 ।।

सततानुरक्तदोषा मोहितजनता बहुग्रहाश्चपलाः ।
संध्याः स्त्रियः पिशाच्यो रक्तच्छायाहराः क्रूराः ।। 534 ।।

कलमाग्रनिर्गतमषीबिन्दुव्याजेन साञ्जनाश्रुकणैः ।
कायस्थलुण्ठ्यमाना रोदिति खिन्नेव राज्यश्रीः ।। 535 ।।

निःशेषभूर्जदाहादागमनाशश्च पर्यन्ते ।
येन विना धनहारी भूर्जग्रहणे निरालोकः ।। 536 ।।

कूटस्थाः कायस्थाः सर्वनकारेण सिद्धमन्त्रेण ।
गुरव इव विदितमाया वृत्तिच्छेदं क्षणेन कुर्वन्ति ।। 537 ।।

अलक्ष्यं भक्षयन्त्येव क्षितीशानां दिवानिशम् ।
समुद्रं कोषमखिलं कायस्था वडवाग्नयः ।। 538 ।।

एते हि चित्रगुप्ताश्चित्रधियो गुप्तकारिणो दिविराः ।
रेखामात्रविनाशात्सहितं कुर्वन्ति ये रहितम् ।। 539 ।।

लोके कलाः प्रसिद्धाः स्वल्पतराः संचरन्ति दिविराणाम् ।
गूढकलाः किल तेषां जानाति कलिः कृतान्तो वा ।। 540 ।।

वक्रलिपिन्यासकला सकलाङ्कनिमीलनकला च ।
सततप्रवेशसंग्रहलोककला व्ययविवर्धनकला च ।। 541 ।।

ग्राह्यपरिच्छेदकला देयधनादानकारणकला च ।
शेषस्य विवेककला संकलिताराशिसर्वभक्षणकला च ।। 542 ।।

उत्पन्नगोपनकला नष्टविशीर्णप्रदर्शनकला च ।
क्रयमाणैर्भरणकला योजनचर्यादिभिः क्षयकला च ।। 543 ।।

स्वार्थार्थिनः प्रयत्ताः प्राप्तार्थाः सेवकाः सदा विफलाः ।
नहि नाम जगति कश्चित्कृतकार्यः सेवको भवति ।। 544 ।

सेव्यन्तेऽर्थार्थिभिर्भूपा जयजीवेति वादिभिः ।
स्याच्चेन्न धनसंबन्धः कः सेव्यः कश्च सेवकः ।। 545 ।।

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सदृशेपुरुषत्वेऽपि तुल्यपादकरोदरे ।
एकः प्रभुः परो दास इति विविजृम्भितम् ।। 546 ।।

सर्वे धनमदान्धस्य प्रातः प्रातर्धनाशया ।
सेवां विधातुं धावन्ति विविधाराधनोद्यमैः ।। 547 ।।

एकः सकलजनानां हृदयेषु कृतास्पदो मदः शत्रुः ।
येनाविष्टशरीरो न शृणोति न पश्यति स्तब्धः ।। 548 ।।

घटपटशकटस्कन्धा बहुडिम्भा मुक्तकेशकलापाः ।
एते योनिपिशाचा भूपभुजो गायना लोके ।। 549 ।।

तमसि वराकश्चौरो हाहाकारेण याति संत्रस्तः ।
गायनचौरः प्रकटं हाहाकृत्वैव हरति सर्वस्वम् ।। 550 ।।

नटनर्तकचक्रचराः कुशीलवाश्चारणा विटाश्चैव ।
ऐश्वर्यशालिशलभाश्चरन्ति तेभ्यः श्रियं रक्षेत् ।। 551 ।।

सर्वस्वमेव परमं प्राणा येषां कृते प्रयत्नोऽयम् ।
वैद्या वैद्याः सततं येषां हस्ते स्थितास्तेऽपि ।। 552 ।।

एते हि देहदाहाद्विरहा इव दुःसहा भिषजः ।
ग्रीष्मदिवसा इवोग्रा बहुतृष्णाः शोषयन्त्येव ।। 553 ।।

विविधौषधपरिवर्तैर्योगैर्जिज्ञासया स्वविद्यायाः ।
हत्वा नृणां सहस्रं पश्चाद्वैद्यो भवेत्सिद्धः ।। 554 ।।

न लोकायतवादेन नास्तिकत्वेऽर्पयेद्धियम् ।
हरिर्हिरण्यकशिपुं जघान स्तम्भनिर्गतः ।। 555 ।।

संधिं विधाय रिपुणा न निःशङ्कः सुखी भवेत् ।
संधिं कृत्वावधीदिन्द्रो वृत्रं निःशङ्कमानसः ।। 556 ।।

दानं सत्त्वमितं दद्यान्न पश्चात्तापदूषितम् ।
बलिनात्मार्पितो बन्धे दानशेषस्य शुद्धये ।। 557 ।।

नासेव्यसेव्या दद्याद्वैवाधीने धने धियम् ।
भीष्मद्रोणादयो याताः क्षयं दुर्योधनाश्रयात् ।। 558 ।।

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श्रुतिस्मृत्युक्तमाचारं न त्यजेत्साधुसेवितम् ।
दैत्यानां श्रीवियोगोऽभूत्सत्यधर्मच्युतात्मनाम् ।। 559 ।।

ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थः स्याद्वानप्रस्थो यतिः क्रमात् ।
आश्रमादाश्रमं याता ययातिप्रमुखा नृपाः ।। 560 ।।

परोपकारं संसारसारं कुर्वीत सत्त्ववान् ।
निदधे भगवान्बुद्धः सर्वसत्त्वोद्धतौ धियम् ।। 561 ।।

ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थः स्याद्वानप्रस्थो यतिः क्रमात् ।
आश्रभादाश्रमं याता ययातिप्रमुखा नृपाः ।। 562 ।।

अन्तः स्थितेऽप्यात्मनि यैः क्रियन्ते सेवाप्रवृत्तैः पुरुषैः प्रणामाः ।
दुग्धाब्धिकल्लोलिनि कूलकच्छे तृष्णातुरास्ते जलमर्थयन्ते ।। 563 ।।

भवन्त्येव भवे स्थूलाः सूक्ष्माश्चान्ये किमद्भुतम् ।
ब्रह्माण्डपरमाणुभ्यां दर्शिता स्थूलसूक्ष्मता ।। 564 ।।

भक्षितनिजबहुविभवाः परविभवक्षपणदीक्षिताः पश्चात् ।
अनिशं वेश्यावेशस्तुतिमुखरमुखा विटाश्चिन्त्याः ।। 565 ।।

अतिशुचितया न वित्तं गृह्णाति करोति चाग्र्यमधिकारम् ।
यो नियमसलिलमत्स्यः परिहार्यो निःस्पृहनियोगी ।। 566 ।।

रथ्यावणिजः पापाः स्वयमेत्य गृहेषु यत्प्रयच्छन्ति ।
तत्स्वकरार्पितमखिलं भवति परं काचशकलमपि ।। 567 ।।

बहवो रथ्यागुरवो लघुदीक्षाः स्वल्पयोगमुत्पाद्य ।
व्याधा इव वर्धन्ते मुग्धानां द्रविणदारहराः ।। 568 ।।

हस्तस्था धनरेखा विपुलतरास्याः पतिश्च चलचित्तः ।
मृद्नाति कुलवधूनामित्युक्त्वा कमलकोमलं पाणिम् ।। 569 ।।

परिजनपानावसरे पिबति न मद्यं निशासु जागर्ति ।
ध्यानपरः सेवार्थी किमपि च कर्तुं कृतोद्योगः ।। 570 ।।

न ददाति प्रतिवचनं ददाति वा गद्गदाक्षरैर्विषमम् ।
नष्टसुखः सोच्छ्वासः प्रवेपते तत्क्षणं चौरः ।। 571 ।।

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एता वञ्चकमाया विज्ञेया न तु पुनः स्वयं सेव्याः ।
धर्म्यः कलाकलापो विदुषामयमीप्सितो भूत्यै ॥ 572 ॥

धर्मस्य कला ज्येष्ठा भूतदयाख्या परोपकारश्च ।
दानं क्षमानसूया सत्यमलोभः प्रसादश्च ॥ 573 ॥

शक्तविरोधे गमनं तत्प्रणतिर्वा बलोदये वैरम् ।
आर्तस्य धर्मचर्या दुःखे धैर्यं सुखेष्वनुत्सेकः ॥ 574 ॥

विभवेषु संविभागः सत्सु रतिर्मन्त्रसंशये प्रज्ञा ।
निन्द्येषु पराङ्मुखता भेषजमेतत्कलादशकम् ॥ 575 ॥

गुरुवचनं सत्यानां कार्याणां गोद्विजातिसुरपूजा ।
लोभः पापतमानां क्रोधः सर्वोपतापजनकानाम् ॥ 576 ॥

मैत्री विस्रम्भानां निर्यन्त्रणता महार्हभोगानाम् ।
संकोचो व्याधीनां कौटिल्यं निर्जलान्धकूपानाम् ॥ 577 ॥

प्रयत्नः स्वगुणाधाने येन बुद्धिमता कृतः ।
भूतये प्रणतास्तस्य मित्रतां यान्ति शत्रवः ॥ 578 ॥

दैत्यदौरात्म्यसंजाता सह्या सर्वात्मना विपत् ।
ते कथं भाजनं भूतेर्ये सहन्ते न दुर्दशाम् ॥ 579 ॥

सुखलवदशाहर्षक्लैब्ये खलः खलु खेलते
स्खलति भजते लेशक्लेशे विषादविषूचिकाम् ।
भवति न सतां दर्पोद्दामा न दैन्यमयी मति-
र्दुरभिभवता गम्भीराणां सुखेष्वसुखेषु च ॥ 580 ॥

कुर्यादाश्रितवात्सल्यात्पक्षपातं न दुर्जने ।
कृष्णपक्षाश्रयेणैव पक्षे पक्षे क्षयी विधुः ॥ 581 ॥

भूतेर्दुर्व्यसन धृतेरसहनं मानोन्नतेर्याचनं
प्रीतेर्विस्मरणं तनोर्निकषणं नीतेरसन्मन्त्रणम् ।
कीर्तेर्लोभघनं स्थितेः प्रवसनं वृत्तेरसंचिन्तनं
शक्तेर्दुर्जनपक्षपातकरण निःशेषनिर्मूलनम् ॥ 582 ॥

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It is the aim of this book to relate the cultural trends in Kashmir as gleaned from the works of Kṣemendra who flourished as a remakable Sanskrit writer during the eleventh century of the Christian era.

Dr Shukla, a specialist in the field of Sanskrit and Buddhism, makes the unusual and illuminating approach of dealing with the eleventh century Kashmir where the society needed a support and a torch-bearer to keep it away from the pitfalls on the brink of which it stood. Among his other publications are a *Persian translation of the Mahābhārata* (Vols. I-IV), *Le Karṇānanda de Kṛṣṇa-dāsa* (in French), *A Study of Sanskrit & Indian vernacular Words in the Indica of Al-Biruni, The Persian—Sanskrit & Sanskrit—Persian Dictionary, The Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dharmapada* published by Sir K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.

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